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CONTENTS

INTRABLOC AFFAIRS

'Communique' of Warsaw Pact PCC Session *[Moscow PRAVDA 17 Jul]* 1
44th CEMA Session in Prague Issues Communique

ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT

First U.S. INF Inspectors in Moravian City *[RUDE PRAVO 22 Jul]* 6
Activities Concluded *[RUDE PRAVO 23 Jul]* 6

ALBANIA

Alia Greets Jaruzelski on National Day 8
Alia Greets Egypt's Mubarak on National Day 8
Turkish Foreign Minister To Visit 1-4 Aug 8
Dode Receives Swiss Parliamentary Delegation 8
Dinner Given for Delegation 8
Korbeci Attends Polish Embassy Reception 9
Production Performances of Districts Compared *[PUNA 15 Jul]* 9
Districts Report Wheat Harvest, Other Results 9
Book by SFRY's Stambolic Reviewed *[DRITA 17 Jul]* 10
Leaders' Public Appearances 10-16 Jul 88 11
Leaders' Public Appearances 17-23 Jul 88 11

BULGARIA

Foreign Ministry Statement on F-16 Deployment 12
More on Coverage of BCP CC Plenum 12
Yotov Address *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 20 Jul]* 12
Report on Yordanov Speech *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 20 Jul]* 17
Other Speeches Reported 20

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Western Banks Approve $150 Million Loan 23
CC Presidium Issues Statement on Pact Session *[RUDE PRAVO 22 Jul]* 23
Leaders Congratulate Poland on National Day *[RUDE PRAVO 22 Jul]* 23
Chnoupek Discusses Foreign Policy, Disarmament *[RUDE PRAVO 22 Jul]* 24
Enemies of Reform Instigate Caucasus Conflict *[Bratislava PRAVDA 22 Jul]* 25
Crisis Used To Shield Corruption *[RUDE PRAVO 22 Jul]* 26
Verifiability of Missile Elimination Asserted *[RUDE PRAVO 23 Jul]* 27
Criticism of Danube Hydroelectric Plan Dismissed *[Bratislava PRAVDA 20 Jul]* 27
Petition Demands Release of Samizdat Distributor *[Vatican]* 28
Catholic Activist Sees Loosening of Restrictions *[Vienna DIE PRESSE 23-24 Jul]* 29
Restructuring in 1989 Economic Plan Discussed 29
Report on 21 Jul CPCZ CC Presidium Session *[RUDE PRAVO 22 Jul]* 29
Leaders' Public Appearances 7-13 Jul 30
Leaders' Public Appearances 14-20 Jul 31

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Politburo's Lorenz Calls For 'Open Dialogue' *[Hamburg DER SPIEGEL 25 Jul]* 33
Greater Cooperation With Greece Desired *[Hamburg DPA]* 33
Honecker, Stoph Send Message to PPR Leaders *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 22 Jul]* 33
Kessler Addresses Pyongyang Meeting 33
Southern Africa Peace Accord Praised *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 23-24 Jul]* 34
More Disarmament Proposed, Threat to West Denied *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 23-24 Jul]* 34

HUNGARY

Further Reportage on Grosz's Activities in U.S. 35
Interviewed en Route to California *[MAGYAR HIRLAP 22 Jul]* 35
Visits San Francisco 35
Visits Los Angeles 36
Economic Pact Signed With California Group 37
Meets Business Leaders in New York 38
Sends Message to Emigrants to U.S. 38
Meets Groups in New York 38
Further on New York Meetings 39
Speaks at New York Dinner 41
Meets Richard Nixon, Dukakis, Bankers 42
Meets Dukakis, Kissinger 42
PLO's Hawatimah Holds News Conference 43
Ethnic Hungarians in Romania Leave for USSR 44
Cardinal on Romanian Treatment of Hungarians 45
Romania Suspected of Polluting River *[MAGYAR NEMZET 23 Jul]* 45
Nyers Meets With Danube Environmentalists 46
Defense Committee Visits Nuclear Power Station *[NEPSZABADSAG 13 Jul]* 46
Straub Comments on Role of President *[NEPSZABADSAG 12 Jul]* 46
Leaders' Public Appearances 30 June-6 July 47

POLAND

Olechowski Departs for Official Visit to U.S. 49
Relations With U.S. Examined 49
Olechowski Arrives Jul 25 49
Politburo 'Communique' for 19 Jul Session *[TRYBUNA LUDU 21-24 Jul]* 50
Reform Affairs Spokesman Views Special Powers *[TRYBUNA LUDU 20 Jul]* 52
Siwicki Addresses New Recruits at Grunwald *[ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI 21-24 Jul]* 53
Attempts To Reconcile Divided Writers Viewed *[POLITYKA 9 Jul]* 55

ROMANIA

Ceausescu Speech to Constanta RCP Delegation *[SCINTEIA 24 Jul]* 60
Andrei Receives Syrian Minister of Industry 60
Relations of Friendship With Poland Affirmed *[SCINTEIA 22 Jul]* 60
Leaders' Public Appearances 17-23 Jul 61

YUGOSLAVIA

Participation in UN Cease-Fire Mission Planned 62
Ljubljana Demands Presidency Reconsider Stand 62
Further on Language Issue 62
Vojvodina Alliance Discusses 'Recent Protests' 62
Presidium Views Novi Sad March *[POLITIKA 23 Jul]* 62
Pancevo LC Municipal Committee Statement 63
DNEVNIK on 'Political Saturday' 63
Amendments to Serbian Consitution Approved 64
Conference President on Changes *[BORBA 20 Jul]* 64
'Lively Polemics' at Serbian LC CC *[BORBA 16-17 Jul]* 65
Kosovo Press on 'National Exclusiveness' *[Tahiri in RILINDJA 18 Jul]* 68
Economic Committee on Inflation Rate, Prospects 69
Bank Head Analyzes Situation 69
Federal Prosecutor on 'Unacceptable' Slovene Views *[POLITIKA 10 Jul]* 70
Croatian Judicial Officials Sworn In 71
Safety Report on Krsko Power Station Submitted *[BORBA 21 Jul]* 71
Loncar, Algerian Foreign Minister End Talks 71
Mikulic Meets With Ibrahimi 71
Dizdarevic Telegrams Jaruzelski on National Day *[POLITIKA 22 Jul]* 72
Suvar Sends Greetings *[POLITIKA 22 Jul]* 72
Freight Increases on Rail Link With Albania *[POLITIKA 22 Jul]* 72

'Communique' of Warsaw Pact PCC Session

PM1607200188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
17 Jul 88 First Edition pp 1, 2

["Communique of the Warsaw Pact Member States Political Consultative Committee Conference" held July 15-16 in Warsaw]

[Text] The Political Consultative Committee of the States that are parties to the Warsaw Pact on Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance met in Warsaw on July 15 and 16, 1988.

The attendees included:

From the People's Republic of Bulgaria—Delegation leader Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP) and chairman of the State Council of Bulgaria, Georgi Atanasov, a member of the Politburo of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers of Bulgaria, Dobri Dzhurov, a member of the Politburo of the BCP Central Committee and People's Defense Minister of Bulgaria, Petur Mladenov, a member of the Politburo of the BCP Central Committee and foreign minister of Bulgaria, and Dimitur Stanishev, a secretary of the BCP Central Committee.

From the Hungarian People's Republic—delegation leader Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (HSWP) and chairman of the Council of Ministers of Hungary, Matyas Szuros, a secretary of the HSP Central Committee, Peter Varkonyi, a member of the HSWP Central Committee and foreign minister of Hungary, and Ferenc Karpati, a member of the HSWP Central Committee and defense minister of Hungary.

From the German Democratic Republic—delegation leader Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SUPG) and chairman of the State Council of the GDR, Willi Stoph, a member of the Politburo of the SUPG Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the GDR, Hermann Axen, a member of the Politburo and a secretary of the SUPG Central Committee, Heinz Kessler, a member of the Politburo of the SUPG Central Committee and national defense minister of the GDR, Egon Krenz, a member of the Politburo, a secretary of the SUPG Central Committee, and a deputy chairman of the State Council of the GDR, Guenter Mittag, a member of the Politburo, a secretary of the SUPG Central Committee, and a deputy chairman of the State Council of the GDR, and Oskar Fischer, a member of the SUPG Central Committee and foreign minister of the GDR.

From the Polish People's Republic—delegation leader Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party (PUWP) and chairman of the State Council of Poland, Zbigniew Messner, a member of the Politburo of the PUWP Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers of Poland, Josef Czyrek, a member of the Politburo and a secretary of the PUWP Central Committee, Florian Siwicki, a member of the Politburo of the PUWP Central Committee and a national defense minister of Poland, Boguslaw Kolodziejczak, a member of the Secretariat of the PUWP Central Committee and head of the Secretariat's office, and Tadeusz Olechowski, foreign minister of Poland.

From the Socialist Republic of Romania—delegation leader Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party (RCP) and president of Romania, Constantin Dascalescu, a member of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee and prime minister of the Government of Romania, Ion Stoian, an alternate member of the Political Executive Committee and a secretary of the RCP Central Committee, Vasile Milea, an alternate member of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee and national defense minister of Romania, Ioan Totu, an alternate member of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee and foreign minister of Romania, and Ion Tesu, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Romania to Poland.

From the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics—delegation leader Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), Andrey Gromyko, a member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Nikolay Ryzhkov, a member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, Eduard Shevardnadze, a member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR foreign minister, Dmitriy Yazov, an alternate member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR defense minister, and Vadim Medvedev, a secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

From the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic—delegation leader Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPC), Gustav Husak, a member of the Presidium of the CPC Central Committee and president of Czechoslovakia, Lubomir Strougal, a member of the Presidium of the CPC Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers of Czechoslovakia, Vasil Bilak, a member of the Presidium and a secretary of the CPC Central Committee, Bohuslav Chnoupek, a member of the CPC Central Committee and foreign minister of Czechoslovakia, and Milan Vaclavik, a member of the CPC Central Committee and national defense minister of Czechoslovakia.

Taking part in the meeting's work also were Marshal of the Soviet Union Viktor Kulikov, commander-in-chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact member states, and Henryk Jaroszek, general secretary of the Political Consultative Committee and a deputy foreign minister of Poland.

1. The participants in the meeting noted that certain favorable trends are manifest in international life as a result of efforts by socialist countries, peoples and broad sections of the world public and realism demonstrated by different government and political circles. This shows in the weakening of confrontation which has begun, in increased contacts between states in East and West, and in more favourable prerequisites created for bridling the arms race, reducing military spending and settling regional conflicts.

At the same time a radical turning point for the better has not yet taken place. [Moscow TASS in English at 1630 GMT on 16 July, in its report on the Warsaw Pact communique, renders the previous sentence: "At the same time a breakthrough for the better has not yet taken place."] The situation in the world remains complex and contradictory. [The Moscow TASS English version renders this sentence: "The situation in the world remains tense and contradictory."] There remains an enormous amount of nuclear arms, nuclear testing is continuing, and new kinds of arms are being produced. The threat of humanity and life itself on this planet being destroyed has not been removed.

The states represented at the meeting will continue doing everything possible to develop salutary processes on the international scene and make them irreversible. They urge all countries to pool and step up efforts to strengthen peace and security, effect disarmament, and foster an atmosphere making for broad-based dialogue and democratization in international life.

2. The common opinion was voiced that the fundamental issue of the times is that of averting war, putting an end to the arms race, and decisively embarking on disarmament, in the first place nuclear disarmament.

The states represented at the meeting reiterate their commitment to the ideals of a world free from weapons of mass destruction and from violence, and based on the principles of mutual equal security, democratic communal life [obshchezhitiye], and equitable extensive cooperation. They are for getting all states involved in tackling the important problems of our time. In state-to-state relations, they seek to act in a way meeting the needs and aspirations of the world community to the maximum and facilitating a free and independent development of all countries and peoples.

3. The participants in the conference exchanged information and opinions on domestic developments and changes in their countries. They reaffirmed the need for a creative approach to the theory and practices of building socialism, for taking account of changes under way in the world, and for mastering the best achievements of other peoples. Note was taken at the meeting of the socialist countries' role in international development and the significance of the contribution made by each of them to the common cause of progress, stronger peace, security, and cooperation. The participants in the conference proceed from the indivisibility and growing interdependence of the world and from the need to affirm the priority of universally shared human values in relations among all states.

4. The Warsaw Pact member states hail the entry into force of the Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. They consider that treaty an important first measure of real disarmament, which should be followed by further agreements in this field, first of all those on significant cuts in nuclear weapons up to and including their complete elimination.

In this connection the participants in the conference note with concern actions that can hold back and complicate the process of disarmament. They see such a threat, in particular, in plans to "compensate for" the intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles that are being eliminated by building up and extensively modernizing other weapons, whose realization can lead to another spiral of the arms race.

5. The Warsaw Pact member states stressed the significance of constructive dialogue between socialist and other countries, meetings and visits at summit and other high levels, and accords serving the cause of mutual understanding and peace.

The participants in the meeting positively assessed the development of Soviet-American dialogue and reaffirmed the position of their states in support of the Soviet Union's efforts and their determination to do everything so that summit talks bring about the conclusion of new weighty agreements in the field of disarmament and the adoption of further practical measures for strengthening international peace and security.

The states represented at the meeting declare that each of them will continue to strengthen contacts and cooperation with other countries in the interests of improving the international situation and consolidating European and universal peace.

Proceeding from the premise that all of mankind is interested in disarmament, they stressed the need for the participation of all states concerned in the talks on disarmament. It was noted that in the present-day conditions, it is necessary to develop new thinking, a new approach to issues of war and peace in the interests of reliable international security, and the peoples' right to life, to a free, independent, and decent existence.

6. The Warsaw Pact member states once again appeal to the NATO member states, the country-participants in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and the entire international community, to build up efforts with a view to concluding as soon as possible major agreements on reducing armaments and armed

forces and strengthening security and stability, and refrain from any actions that may generate difficulties in the way of movement along that path.

They single out the following priority tasks in the field of disarmament:

—Conclusion of a treaty on the 50 per cent reduction of the strategic offensive arms of the USSR and the United States given strict observance of the ABM Treaty in the form it was signed in 1972 and non-withdrawal from it within an agreed upon period.

—A general and complete [polnoye i vseobshcheye] ban [The Moscow TASS English version reads: "A comprehensive ban..."] on nuclear weapons testing and, as steps towards this goal, the conclusion of agreements on effective verification measures with a view to achieving the earliest ratification of the Soviet-American treaties of 1974 and 1976 and the conclusion of agreements on the further reduction of the yield and number of Soviet and U.S. nuclear explosions,

—Conclusion of a convention on a total ban on chemical weapons and destruction of their stockpiles,

—Reduction of the armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe with a corresponding reduction in military spending.

The means released in the process of disarmament should be switched to needs of econonic and social development.

7. The participants in the meeting state that the elaboration of a mandate for the talks on the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe is nearing completion in Vienna and prospects are opening for the resumption of the work of the Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe.

They pointed to the timeliness of their proposal to the NATO member countries to exchange information on the armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe. In the interests of fast and productive advancement at the future talks, this exchange could be conducted early in the talks, and, if possible, before their start, envisaging verification of the information exchanged by way of on-spot inspections with the start of the talks.

The allied socialist states reaffirm their determination to press for the conclusion as soon as possible of an agreement that would lead to the elimination of the existing asymmetries and imbalances both on the all-European scale and in individual regions, substantial cuts in the armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe and preclusion of sudden attacks and offensive operations.

They come out in favor of the development and expansion of the existing confidence- and security-building measures along with the elaboration of similar measures of a new generation, including the restriction of military activity in Europe and their application to the independent activity of the air and naval forces.

The meeting adopted a document relating to the talks on the reduction of the armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe.

The actions directed at strengthening stability in the European continent should be complemented by measures for diminishing military activity in the seas and oceans around Europe, reducing military confrontation in northern Europe and the Arctic, and turning the Mediterranean into a zone of peace and cooperation.

The participants in the meeting confirm their proposal regarding the comparison of the military doctrines by representatives of the Warsaw Pact and NATO member countries with due account for their military-technological aspects with a view to imparting a purely defensive character to the military doctrines and concepts of the two military alliances and their participants.

The states represented at the meeting recall their proposals for starting direct talks between the Warsaw Pact and NATO member countries on freezing and reducing military spending and announcing a 1-2-year moratorium on a reciprocal basis on their growth.

8. The allied socialist states believe that the start of separate talks in the near future on the reduction and subsequent elimination of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe, including nuclear components of dual-capable systems, would facilitate the consolidation of stability and the reduction of the risk of war on the continent.

9. The Warsaw Pact member countries proceed from the premise that the process of strengthening confidence, security and disarmament in Europe should also serve the solution of specific problems of security in individual regions. Within this context, they reaffirm the great importance of the implementation of their joint and individual proposals relating to central Europe, northern Europe, the Balkans, and the zone along the line of contact between the two alliances in the continent.

10. The states represented at the meeting note that although the 3rd special session of the U.N. General Assembly on disarmament failed to adopt a final document, it showed that the majority of states favor resolute measures for curbing the arms race and achieving disarmament in all spheres, above all the nuclear one, and new approaches to disarmament problems. It is important [The Moscow TASS English version reads: "It is essential..."] that the numerous constructive proposals advanced during the session be used in the disarmament

talks. The participants in the meeting favor the multiplication of efforts by all states with a view to increasing the efficiency of the process of such talks, perfecting their mechanism, and enhancing the role of the U.N. in this sphere.

11. The states represented at the meeting proceed from the idea of jointly building an indivisible Europe of peace and cooperation, a 'common European home' in which an atmosphere of good-neighborliness and trust would be asserted. Serving as the foundation of this process are the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act as well as of the concluding document of the Madrid meeting of representatives of the CSCE participating countries, the strict observance of which serves the strengthening of mutual understanding and constructive cooperation between European states. Also serving this aim is the establishment of official relations between the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and the European Economic Community.

The unchanged positions of the Warsaw Pact member states in favor of a simultaneous dissolution of military alliances were confirmed at the meeting.

The states represented at the meeting stressed that inviolability of borders, respect for existing territorial and political realities, the sovereignty and territorial integrity of states and other generally recognised principles and norms of inter-state relations is a condition of the preservation of lasting peace and security in Europe. Any attempts to question these realities and their inviolability contradict the interests of detente and security, the treaties and agreements concluded in the 1970's, the Helsinki Final Act, and will be resolutely repulsed.

12. The participants in the meeting declared for the speediest conclusion of the CSCE Vienna meeting with the adoption of a substantive and balanced document. The Vienna accords should serve the strengthening of the principles of mutual relations between states taking part in the CSCE, the imparting of dynamism to the process of strengthening trust and disarmament, the development of extensive cooperation along all directions. The states represented at the meeting call on all participants in the Vienna meeting to display at its concluding stage political will and maximum of constructive efforts in order to find solutions to the remaining unsolved questions. On their part they will act precisely in this way. They came out for concluding this meeting on the level of ministers of foreign affairs.

13. The allied socialist states confirm their resolve to take part in the formation of an all-embracing system of international peace and security on the basis of strict observance of the United Nations Charter, of implementing the possibilities inherent in it, and in the working out for this purpose of confidence-building measures and measures of international cooperation in all spheres—political, military, economic, humanitarian and ecological.

The participants in the meeting declared for stepping up at the 43rd session of the United Nations General Assembly the search for common approaches of states to such concrete aspects of ensuring universal security as raising the effectiveness of the United Nations and its main bodies, the role of the United Nations secretary general, including in settling conflicts between states by way of talks, good offices, mediation or reconciliation, the more extensive utilisation of the Institute of United Nations Military Observers and Peace-Keeping Forces, and the assertion of the primacy of international law in inter-state relations.

Note was made at the meeting of the importance of the contribution by non-governmental organisations, the movements of scientists, physicians, cultural figures, representatives of broad sections of the world public to the adoption of concrete measures to end the arms race, to resolutely move on to disarmament, first of all nuclear disarmament, to the practical implementation of ideas of universal security in the activity of the United Nations Organisation and its members, to ensuring peace and cooperation.

The states represented at the meeting reconfirmed the need for all countries strictly to respect the principles [The Moscow TASS English version reads: "...to observe the principles..."] of national independence and sovereignty, non-use of force or the threat of force, inviolability of borders and territorial integrity, the peaceful settlement of disputes, non-interference in internal affairs, equality, and other principles and aims of the United Nations Charter, the Helsinki Final Act, and other generally recognised norms of international relations.

14. Views were exchanged on questions of ecological security. The conviction was expressed that the protection and improvement of the environment and the rational utilisation of natural resources are closely connected with ensuring international security in all of its aspects, with the ending of the arms race and disarmament, first of all nuclear disarmament. The problem of ecological security is exceptionally urgent in densely populated Europe, which is oversaturated with armaments and with harmful and dangerous industries. The states represented at the conference expressed readiness to actively participate in the solution of ecological problems both on a multilateral and a bilateral basis in the interests of mankind's survival and steady development.

A document was adopted on the consequences of the arms race for the environment and on other aspects of ecological security.

15. The leaders of the states represented at the meeting express their conviction that in the present situation, special importance is being acquired by the observance and implementation of human rights and the development of international cooperation in the humanitarian field. They hold that everything should be done to ensure

man's right to life and work in conditions of peace and freedom, to fully implement political, civic, economic, social, cultural and other rights in their sum total and interdependence in conditions of respect for the sovereignty of states and non-interference in their internal affairs.

16. The leaders of the Warsaw Pact member states held an exchange of views on the question of the seats of tension and conflict existing in the world. They confirmed the resolve of their states actively to facilitate their political settlement with due account for the lawful interests of the sides and with respect for the right of each people to shape its own destiny.

The participants in the meeting welcomed the commenced process of political settlement in Afghanistan. The states represented at the meeting hold that it is necessary to put an end to all outside interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan and facilitate the full settlement of the Afghan question on the basis of respect for the independence and sovereignty of the Republic of Afghanistan, non-interference in its internal affairs, and to ensure the country's democratic and free development.

17. The participants in the meeting welcome the growing positive role of the Nonaligned Movement in the solution of key questions of world politics.

The participants in the meeting declared for building up efforts with the aim of overcoming underdevelopment, establishing a new international economic order, and finding a just solution to the questions of external debt, which should facilitate the stability of the world economy and cooperation.

18. A detailed echange of views on the development of cooperation between the allied socialist states was conducted at the meeting. The work of the Foreign Ministers' Committee and the Defence Ministers' Committee during the period since the Berlin meeting of the PCC was positively assessed and the further tasks of these committees were determined.

Satisfaction was expressed with the activity of the multilateral group of current mutual information and the special commission on questions of disarmament. The need to further enrich the content and forms of their work was noted.

The participants in the meeting declared for building up the dynamism of external political cooperation based on equality, close interaction, and mutual responsibility, for further perfecting its mechanism and raising the effectiveness of agreed-upon actions.

The Political Consultative Committee heard a report by the commander-in-chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact member states on the work done by the Command and adopted a relevant decision.

19. The meeting passed in an atmosphere of friendship and cooperation.

The Polish People's Republic as the host country of the meeting will ensure the distribution of its documents among other states and international organisations.

The next meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of Warsaw Pact member states will be held in Bucharest. The representative of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Constantin Oancea, was appointed general secretary of the Political Consultative Committee for the next period.

44th CEMA Session in Prague Issues Communique

For the text of the Communique issued by the 44th sitting of the CEMA session, held in Prague, CSSR, on 5-7 July, see page 11 of the Communist Relations section of the 8 July Soviet Union DAILY REPORT.

First U.S. INF Inspectors in Moravian City

AU2507145588 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Jul 88 pp 1,2

["MJ, ML"-signed report: "First Inspection in Hranice"]

[Text] Prague/Hranice na Morave (Our Correspondents)—A group of 10 American inspectors arrived by Hercules C-130 transport plane at Ruzyne Airport on Thursday [21 July] morning, and on the same day carried out an inspection at the former missile base of Soviet OTR-22 (SS-22) nuclear missiles in Hranice na Morave. As is known, these missiles had already been withdrawn from Czechoslovak territory, and the American side requested the right to check this fact now.

The OTR-22 missiles are subject to the stipulations of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, which was signed on 7 December 1987. In addition to the signatory states, the USSR and the United States, the pledge to permit the verification of the fulfillment of the Washington treaty also concerns the territories of another seven states—the GDR, the CSSR, Italy, the FRG, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Britain—where various types of these nuclear devices were stationed. The Soviet and the American side have the right to demand inspection on the territories of those states by announcing their intention prior to beginning their inspection to the government of the state in which they want to carry out the inspection. The duration of an inspection is 24 hours from the inspectors' entry into a military site, and can be extended by 8 hours if the side carrying out the inspection deems it necessary.

The commander of the group of American inspectors is Colonel Lawrence Kelly. The American inspectors were awaited at Ruzyne Airport by representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and of the Ministry of National Defense, and also by members of the Central Group of Soviet Forces. Col Kelly willingly answered questions put by the journalists present in his mother tongue—English—as well as in fluent Russian. He declared that his group will begin verification immediately after its arrival at the military site in Hranice na Morave, which was, as is known to the American side, the only place in the CSSR where Soviet nuclear missiles were stationed. He stressed that, until now, the entire inspection process, concerning a number of countries, has been without problems and difficulties; the American inspectors have been granted all the necessary conditions to fulfill their task. The United States has been informed that the Soviet missiles were withdrawn from Czechoslovak territory last February and March, that is, even before the ratification of the Soviet - American treaty.

The United States wants to check this, and his group brought the technical means it needs to do that. The American inspectors had a sketch of the former missile base in Hranice na Morave and they decided on their own which locations to check.

The American group began its inspection work in Hranice at 1500. CTK reported that the inspectors checked the Hranice military barracks, including the vehicle pool and the training area. They had the opportunity to inspect in detail individual buildings, which formerly served the Soviet missile unit, and places where there used to be equipment for the training of Soviet soldiers. They also made random checks on vehicles and further equipment belonging to the unit of the Czechoslovak People's Army which has taken over Hranice barracks after the departure of the Soviet detachment.

The inspectors then moved into the military area to one of the former combat positions. There they were able to convince themselves that all military materiel which is subject to elimination under the Soviet-American treaty was no longer there.

A total of 39 Soviet operational-tactical missiles used to be stationed in Hranice na Morave. As was already mentioned, they were taken from CSSR territory to the Soviet Union, where—again under American control—they will be eliminated. Groups of Soviet and American inspectors are already working on both USSR and U.S. territory. During their activity they have diplomatic status.

The first American inspection in Hranice will end on Friday [22 July].

Activities Concluded

AU2507182488 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 Jul 88 p 1

[CTK report: "Inspection Activities in Hranice Concluded; L.G. Kelly: I Am Satisfied, Mission Fulfilled; American Representative Appreciates CSSR's Approach to Providing Conditions for the Activity and Work of Team Members"]

[Text] Hranice—This Friday [22 July] a team of 10 U.S. inspectors continued their first inspection on Czechoslovak territory in the area around Hranice, in the Prerov district; the inspection concerned the fulfillment of commitments issuing from the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles.

In the morning the American inspectors checked further former combat positions and other installations that were needed until March 1988 to provide for the combat readiness of a Soviet missile unit, armed with operational-tactical devices.

The facilities used by Soviet Army units prior to their departure from Hranice are currently being prepared for complying with the Czechoslovak state norms, to serve the needs of the Czechoslovak People's Army.

In the afternoon, the American experts concluded their inspection activities in Hranice. After signing the inspection report, the American group and the accompanying Soviet and Czechoslovak escort departed for Prague.

In keeping with the CSSR-USSR-GDR Agreement on Inspections, it has been Czechoslovakia's duty as the country of deployment to permit and then to enable the side doing the checking to enter the country; to provide safe transportation to and from the place of entry in the CSSR; and to see to corresponding accommodation and catering for the inspectors and to the provision of telephone communication lines with the representative office in Prague. Colonel Ivan Abrosimov, head of the Soviet escort, told a CTK reporter in this connection: "The CSSR has totally fulfilled all the commitments for Czechoslovakia that follow from the adopted documents."

After the inspection in Hranice ended, Lawrence G. Kelly, head of the American group of inspectors, gave an interview to a CTK reporter; prior to leaving Prague by air, he gave an interview to a RUDE PRAVO reporter. He stated, among other things: "The conditions for our inspection have been most carefully prepared in every respect. We have checked all four of the former combat positions, including all their parts, which form a single installation covered by the treaty. We have drawn appropriate conclusions from the inspection. I am satisfied with the course of the inspection. However, I am not empowered to speak of the final results. But I can say that our activity was in complete harmony with the stipulations of the treaty. In my view, the mission of our inspection has been fulfilled—also thanks to the efforts of the Soviet and Czechoslovak sides." Inspector Kelly concluded the interview by expressing high appreciation for the CSSR's share in providing conditions for the inspection and for the work of the American team.

Colonel Jiri Dvorak, member of the Czechoslovak escort of the American group, stated that, throughout their stay in the country, the members of the American group acted correctly, and fully in the spirit of the Soviet-American treaty.

In the evening of the same day, the American inspectors left Prague by military aircraft for Frankfurt/Main.

Alia Greets Jaruzelski on National Day

AU2107185788 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 21 Jul 88

[Text] Comrade Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, has sent the following telegram to Wojciech Jaruzelski, chairman of the Council of State of the People's Republic of Poland:

On the occasion of the National Day of the People's Republic of Poland, in the name of the Albanian people and of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, I convey greetings and best wishes for the well-being and prosperity of the Polish people.

Alia Greets Egypt's Mubarak on National Day

AU2207190388 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 22 Jul 88

[Text] Comrade Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, has sent the following telegram to Muhammad Husni Mubarak, president of the Arab Republic of Egypt:

On the occasion of your national day, it is my pleasure, in the name of the Albanian people, the Presidium of the People's Assembly, and on my own behalf, to convey to you warm greetings and best wishes for the happiness of the Egyptian people and the country's progress.

May the relations of traditional friendship existing between our two countries develop even more in the future, for the common benefit of our two fraternal peoples.

Turkish Foreign Minister To Visit 1-4 Aug

AU2307185288 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 23 Jul 88

[Text] At the invitation of Reis Malile, minister of foreign affairs of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Mesut Yilmaz, minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Turkey, is to visit the People's Socialist Republic of Albania on 1-4 August.

During the visit, opinions will be exchanged concerning the traditional relations of friendship and cooperation existing between the two countries, as well as their further development. The talks will also cover some aspects of the current international situation.

Dode Receives Swiss Parliamentary Delegation

AU2507193788 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 25 Jul 88

[Text] Petro Dode, chairman of the People's Assembly, received the Swiss parliamentary delegation, headed by Rodolf Raischling, chairman of the National Council of the Swiss Confederation; and Franco Massoni chairman of the State Council, at the seat of the Presidium of the People's Assembly this afternoon.

Sihat Tozaj, secretary to the Presidium of the People's Assembly; Rahman Hanku and Terezina Marubi, members of the Presidium of the People's Assembly; Rolanda Dhimitri, deputy chairman of the Permanent Commission for Foreign Affairs of the People's Assembly; deputies, and other comrades were also present.

Jean-Marcel Saudun, general secretary of the Federal Assembly and Pierre-Yves Simonin, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Swiss Confederation to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, were also present at the discussions.

The bilateral discussions evaluated the friendship between the Swiss and Albanian peoples, and the relations of friendship and cooperation that exist between the two countries in various fields. Comrade Petro Dode acquainted his Swiss guests with the working of the people's power in Albania, with socialist democracy, the participation of the people in the government of the country, socioeconomic developments, and Albania's foreign policy.

For their part, Rodolf Raischling, chairman of the National Council of the Swiss Confederation, and Franco Massoni, chairman of the State Council, expressed thanks for their invitation and the welcome extended to them. They spoke of the state structure of the Swiss Confederation, the economic development of the country, and expressed appreciation of Albania's principle of self-reliance and Albania's achievements in various fields.

The chairman of the National Council of the Swiss Confederation invited the chairman of the People's Assembly and a delegation of the Presidium to visit Switzerland. Comrade Petro Dode expressed his thanks and said that he accepted the invitation with pleasure. The chairmen expressed their conviction that this visit is a fresh contribution to the further development of friendly relations between Albania and Switzerland.

Dinner Given for Delegation

AU2607084188 Tirana ATA in English 0742 GMT 26 Jul 88

[Text] Tirana, July 26 (ATA)—The chairman of the Presidency of the People's Assembly, Petro Dode, gave on July 25 a dinner in the honour of the Swiss parliamentary delegation headed by the chairman of the National Council of the Swiss Confederation, Rodolf Raischling, together with the chairman of the States' Council, Franco Massoni.

Present at the dinner were the minister of foreign affairs, Reis Malile; the minister of foreign trade, Shane Korbeci; the minister of education, Skender Gjinushi; the minister of food industry, Jovan Bardhi; the secretary of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Sihat Tozaj; the members of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Rahman Hanku, Eleni Selenica, and Terezina Marubi; the vice chairman of the Presidency of the People's Assembly, Ibrahim Hamza; the president of the Academy of Sciences, Deputy Prof Aleks Buda; deputies, and other comrades.

The dinner passed in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

Korbeci Attends Polish Embassy Reception

AU2207112488 Tirana ATA in English 0740 GMT 22 Jul 88

[Text] Tirana, July 22 (ATA)—On occasion of the National Day of Poland, the interim charge d'affaires of the Embassy of the People's Republic of Poland to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Wladyslaw Ciaston, gave a reception on July 21, in the evening.

Attending the reception were the minister of foreign trade, Shane Korbeci; the vice-minister of foreign affairs, Sokrat Plaka; the vice-minister of transport, Ferdinand Tako; and other invitees.

Present were also heads and functionaries of the diplomatic representations accredited to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

Production Performances of Districts Compared

AU2007082988 Tirana PUNA in Albanian 15 Jul 88 p 1

[Unattributed Report: "Three Months After a Comparison"]

[Text] How Was the Plan Fulfilled in the Second Quarter of the Year? Seven Districts Are Falling Behind. [subhead]

Three months ago, our paper published a comparison of performance in the industrial production plan for the January-March period. It listed districts according to their performance and according to the problems they had encountered during the first quarter of the year. How have they worked during the second quarter, what changes are there, who heads the list, and who is still lagging behind? Let us first look at the list of the districts according to their fulfillment of the general industrial production plan for the second quarter:

1. Kolonje . . .	116 percent.
2. Gramsh . . .	110 percent.
3. Skrapar . . .	110 percent.
4. Tepelene. . .	107 percent.
5. Librazhd. . .	107 percent.
6. Permet . . .	105 percent.
7. Mirdite . . .	104 percent.
8. Sarande . . .	104 percent.
9. Vlore . . .	102 percent.
10. Kukes . . .	102 percent.
11. Tirana . . .	101 percent.
12. Pogradec . . .	101 percent.
13. Gjirokaster . . .	100 percent.
14. Elbasan . . .	99 percent.
15. Kruje . . .	99 percent.
16. Lezhe . . .	99 percent.
17. Korce . . .	98 percent.
18. Puke . . .	98 percent.
19. Fier . . .	97 percent.
20. Diber . . .	97 percent.
21. Lushnje . . .	97 percent.
22. Berat . . .	96 percent.
23. Shkoder . . .	95 percent.
24. Durres. . .	93 percent.
25. Mat . . .	91 percent.
26. Tropoje . . .	64 percent.

That is the order of the districts. The situation is not good in comparison with the first quarter. The 20 districts that had then exceeded their general industrial production plans in that period have fallen to 13. The districts of Tropoje, Kruje, Lezhe, Puke, Korce, Elbasan, and Shkoder have fallen behind in the second quarter, and are not now listed among the most distinguished. These districts and others at the bottom of the list should profit more from the experience of the outstanding districts of Kolonje, Gramsh, Skrapar, and Tepelene, that have distinguished themselves in plan fulfillment, just as in the first quarter.

The comparison published 3 months ago drew attention to failures to meet the industrial production plan as regards variety of goods, because not a single district had met its planned targets. The situation is still not good. The planned variety of goods has still not been produced by any district, even though some districts have significantly overfulfilled their general industrial production plans This testifies to a tendency among some managers to produce those goods that carry weight in the plan, while neglecting many other "smaller" items.

Districts Report Wheat Harvest, Other Results

AU2307174088 [Editorial Report] Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian of 13 July publishes on page one the 800-word text of a letter addressed to Ramiz Alia, AWP Central Committee first secretary, by the Gjirokaster District AWP aktiv, informing him that the district's wheat production plan was fulfilled at 101.3 percent, delivering 2,000 quintals over and above the plan, and achieving an average yield of 32.5 quintals per hectare. The letter also informs Alia that the milk delivery plan was fulfilled at 101 percent, that 15,000

quintals more milk had been produced compared with the previous year, and that 9,000 quintals over the plan had been delivered. The industrial production plan for the 6-month period was fulfilled at 102.8 percent, while the export plan was fulfilled at 115 percent. The cost reduction plan was exceeded by 600,000 leks, while the state budget plan was fulfilled at 100.3 percent.

ZERI I POPULLIT of 17 July publishes, also on page one, a 1,100-letter addressed to Alia by the Elbasan District AWP plenum, in which he is informed that the wheat production plan was fulfilled at 105 percent, or 25,000 quintals over and above the plan. The letter also informs Alia that the district's industrial production plan was fulfilled at 100 percent, the social product 100.1 percent, the national income 100.3 percent, the social income 102.7 percent, the budget income 102 percent, or 3.6 million leks over the plan, while the budget expenditure plan was fulfilled at 97.3 percent, or 3.6 million leks under the target.

Book by SFRY's Stambolic Reviewed
AU2507144988 Tirana DRITA in Albanian 17 Jul 88 p 16

[Hysen Gorica article: "On a Book by Ivan Stambolic—Interesting Revelations About Political Life in Yugoslavia"]

[Text] In recent months, the publishing houses of Delo in Ljubljana and Globus in Zagreb have issued a book by Ivan Stambolic called "An Analysis of the SR of Serbia, 1979-1987." The 255 pages of this book include studies, reports, and speeches by Stambolic delivered during this period in various political forums of Serbia and the federation, at meetings and rallies in Kosovo Polje, and so on. Some of these are published for the first time and have attracted public attention.

Ivan Stambolic was prime minister of Serbia from 1978, and was subsequently president of the Belgrade City LC Committee and member of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium (1982), president of the Serbian LC Central Committee (1984), and president of the SR of Serbia Presidency (1986-1987).

The contents of this book show that the publishers intend to inform the public of the possible causes which led to the strident conflict in the highest Serbian leadership in December, 1987, and the consequences that this conflict might have, not only for Serbia, but for the entire federation. As is well known, Slobodan Milosevic's wing won at this time, and Ivan Stambolic was replaced by the general Petar Gracanin in the post of president of the SR of Serbia, while Dragisa Pavlovic, leader of the Belgrade LC, and other colleagues of Stambolic were divested of all their offices and even expelled from the LC.

The political standpoints held by Ivan Stambolic from the time he joined the highest Serbian leadership in 1979, and which are now published in this book for the first time, show him to be determined in defending the interests of Serbian nationalism, but careful in his choices of methods and allies in achieving his aims, and especially concerned by growing tendencies in Serbia to draw nearer to the Soviet Union. He is against a possible Serbo-Soviet alliance for realizing revanchist and unitarist Great Serbian plans. Stambolic also criticizes these trends in political forums of Serbia and the federation, warning of the dangerous consequences of such a development of the situation in Serbia.

In describing the well-known events in Kosovo, Ivan Stambolic holds the same views as other Serbian nationalist leaders. His differences over Kosovo with the other wing of the Serbian leadership lie only in the ways and means that must be employed to reach the same goal. He is "against haste and extreme measures that could provoke a reaction among the Albanian population of Kosovo." For this reason, Stambolic repeatedly denounces "Serbian nationalism." In his opening speech at the meeting of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium on 9 July, 1985, Stambolic points out that "There were certain unacceptable opinions, theories, attitudes, and assessments during the discussion of the Kosovo problem in the Serbian Assembly... We are aware that there are nationalist overtones not merely in the press, but in the general climate in society and in public life."

Similarly, at the joint meeting of the SFRY Presidency and the LCY Central Committee Presidium on 5 March, 1986, Stambolic opposes the visits by groups of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo to Belgrade. "These trips to Belgrade," he says," are assuming the shape of a legal uprising of the Serbian and Montenegrin population in Kosovo. If matters continue in this way, the state of awareness and the mood in this part of the republic, in Belgrade, will change. This too is the enemy's aim—to transfer Kosovo to Belgrade. There is a very real danger of dire and most serious consequences here. This gives rise to a psychosis and a very tense atmosphere, and creates the danger of the outbreak of a large-scale uprising." At the meeting of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium on 14 April 1986, he returns to this issue once again and states, "The irredentists need Kosovo as a bomb, and the Serbian nationalists need it as a fuse for explosions in Belgrade and for fighting and bloodshed in its streets. Certain individuals are not hiding the fact that they want this very thing."

He also voiced his preoccupation with the plans of the Serbian ultranationalist wing in a speech delivered to a meeting of Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo Polje on 6 April, 1986. He turned to those present with the summons: "Do not allow anyone, neither the Serbian nationalists nor the Albanian irredentists, to provoke you. Do not allow anybody to manipulate you.... Here too, you have heard calls for accounts with the Albanians to be settled with the help of a foreign power, who should solve our problems." The next day, at another meeting

with Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo Polje, Stambolic enlarged upon his idea. He said to those present: "The great powers, who threaten us and have always hungered after this region, will swallow us up. Do not allow anyone here to demand that someone else, some great power, should come and solve our problems and difficulties. Anyone who comes can only come as an enslaver...."

In these two cases, Ivan Stambolic was thinking of the demands that groups of Serbian nationalists had sent to the Soviet Union for help in this matter. He said this frankly, at a closed meeting of the LCY Central Committee Presidium on 8 April, 1988: "Circumstances have become obvious which, I consider, show that matters have become very serious, because the fuse has been set in Kosovo for an explosion that is to take place in Belgrade, and there is a real danger of a broad movement of the masses against us. We must discover who is so involved in such things that they call for foreign intervention. We must find out who is doing such things, who is inciting demands for protection by the Soviet Union, for a journey to Gorbachev or to the Soviet Embassy in Belgrade and other things of this kind; we must find out how directives are given from the Serbian nationalist staff, who is formulating slogans, who the ideological leaders of this cause are, and who is giving direct instructions in this field!"

The importance of Ivan Stambolic's statements is shown by the fact that the main editor of his book is Franc Setinc, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium from Slovenia.

Belgrade has not yet responded officially to this important testimony by Ivan Stambolic. Since the book's publication, the Serbian leadership has merely taken further measures against the former president of the Presidency of the SR of Serbia by also expelling him from the ranks of the Serbian LC Central Committee.

Leaders' Public Appearances 10-16 Jul 88

AU1607194888 [Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its broadcasts between 10-16 July reports the following public appearances of Albanian leaders (time and date of broadcast in parentheses):

Ramiz Alia, AWP Central Committee first secretary, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, and Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces; Adil Carcani, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Council of Ministers; Simon Stefani, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and secretary; Prokop Murra, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and minister of people's defense; Hekuran Isai, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and minister of internal affairs; and Kico Mustaqi, AWP Central Committee Politburo candidate member and chief of the General Staff, laid a wreath at the Martyrs of the Nation Cemetery in Tirana on 10 July, on the occasion of the 45th anniversary of the People's Army. They also visited various units of the Tirana Garrison and the Higher School of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. (1800 GMT 10 Jul) (Filed as AU1007190488)

AWP Central Committee Politburo members Hajredin Celiku, Rita Marko, Manush Myftiu, and Besnik Bekteshi, also visited units of the Tirana Garrison. (1800 GMT 10 Jul) (Filed as AU1007190488)

Adil Carcani, Besnik Bekteshi, Foto Cami, Hajredin Celiku, Hekuran Isai, Lenka Cuko, Manush Myftiu, Prokop Murra, Rita Marko, Simon Stefani, Kico Mustaqi, Llambi Gegprifti, and Pirro Kondi attended a concert on the occasion of Army Day on 10 July in Tirana. (2000 GMT 10 Jul)

Foto Cami, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and secretary attended on 13 July a ceremony at the V.I. Lenin Higher AWP School in Tirana, at which diplomas were awarded to new graduates. (1800 GMT 13 Jul) Simon Stefani, AWP Central Committee Politburo member, attended on 16 July a ceremony held at Ploshnje cooperative, Berat District, on the occasion of its being awarded a decoration by the Presidium of the People's Assembly. (1800 GMT 16 Jul)

Leaders' Public Appearances 17-23 Jul 88

AU2307190488 [Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its broadcasts between 17-23 July reports the following public appearances of Albanian leaders (time and date of broadcast in parentheses):

Besnik Bekteshi, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, attended on 20 July a national aktiv in Tirana, which examined ways of improving the quality of construction and construction materials. (1800 GMT 20 July)

Foreign Ministry Statement on F-16 Deployment

AU2507195888 Sofia BTA in English 1754 GMT 25 Jul 88

["Tangible Steps To Ease Military Confrontation"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, July 25 (BTA)—A representative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs made the following statement before the Bulgarian News Agency:

"The People's Republic of Bulgaria gives her unqualified support to the preparedness expressed by the U.S.S.R. to withdraw its analogous fighter planes from the countries of Eastern Europe on the condition that NATO agrees not to deploy in Italy the 72 F-16 fighter bombers which were rejected by Spain.

"The Bulgarian public had every reason to be alarmed over the news of the decision to redeploy those aircraft. The deployment of new advanced bombers in proximity to the Balkans would undermine considerably the positive results achieved with the signing of the historic treaty between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. on the elimination of their intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles and would by no means help the onward progress of the multilateral Balkan-wide dialogue on matters of security and confidence and on the establishment of a zone free of mass-destruction weapons in this region.

"At the same time, the realization of this decision would not help eliminate the existing imbalances and asymmetries in favour of the North Atlantic Alliance on the southern and southeastern flank of NATO and of the Warsaw Treaty and would impede the efforts of the Mediterranean countries and peoples to turn this area into a zone of peace and cooperation.

"There is yet another alarming fact: The F-16 wing is planned to be redeployed in proximity to the traditional trouble spots, which could lead to an escalation of conflicts and could impede the process of their peaceful and just settlement.

"Bulgaria is convinced that the realization of the latest Soviet proposal would represent a tangible step towards the lowering of military confrontation in Europe at large and on the two politico-military alliances' southern and southeastern flank in particular and would help build state-to-state confidence in Europe."

More on Coverage of BCP CC Plenum

Yotov Address

AU2107200888 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 20 Jul 88 p 2

["Introductory Speech" delivered by Yordan Yotov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, at the opening session of the BCP Central Committee Plenum on Restructuring in the Intellectual Sphere on 19 July 1988 at the Boyana Residence in Sofia—boldfaced passages as published]

[Text] Comrades, the consistent application of the strategy for a qualitative new growth of society made it possible for the BCP Central Committee July Plenum held in 1987 to approve a new concept for the further construction of socialism in our motherland. Responding to an urgent necessity of everyday life, the July plenum concept served the goal of ensuring full expansion for the implementation of the immeasurably great opportunities and advantages of the new social system and marked the beginning of its revolutionary restructuring.

The implementation of this requirement imposed by history in the intellectual sphere is one of the basic trends of the fundamental innovation of our society.

The importance of restructuring in the intellectual sphere is determined above all by man—the object of the influence exerted by the intellectual sphere, the so-called "final product" of the comprehensive activities of this sphere. Man is the focus of our party's policy and of the communist teaching and movement. Man is the basic productive force and the creator of his own history as the basic component of a society called a nation.

It is our strategic task to develop a many-sided, highly educated, intellectually rich, and morally lofty personality and to create all necessary prerequisites for the full self-assertion of this personality. This urgently requires that we bring about radical changes in the field of science, education, culture, and arts. **The achievement of leading positions in the scientific-technical revolution and of the highest achievements of social progress in our developed and self-managing society are unthinkable without a purposeful and intensive expansion of the nation's intellectual potential.**

The BCP has always attached great importance to the role of the intellectual sphere in the progress of society. The great achievements of our socialist culture, the prestige it has won throughout the world—all these are testimonies to the effectiveness of the cultural policy adopted by the 1956 April plenum.

Both the truth and our human duty require us to pay well-deserved tribute to the unforgettable Lyudmila Zhivkov for the prosperity of Bulgarian intellectual culture achieved during the years of the April plenum upsurge.

Yes, our successes are beyond any doubt. However, today we are all aware that the state of intellectual life is no longer conforming to the new historical realities, to the lofty goals of the July 1987 concept.

The development of the potential of our intellectual sphere has always been the focus of the party's attention. The fact that this plenum is specially devoted to restructuring in the intellectual sphere by no means signifies that we have underestimated this sphere in the past. **The nature of change which characterizes our epoch requires that we should free**

ourselves of all forms and manifestations of command-administrative approaches, methods, and means of leadership in connection with the functioning and development of science, education, culture, and arts.

The July concept is not a frozen system of postulates and views that have been determined once for all. It will be constantly enriched, both on the basis of our own experience and of the experience of other countries. This is precisely why we, the Bulgarian Communists, followed with such great interest the work of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference and are now studying its decisions. The work of this conference and the documents it adopted are of historical importance, not only for the CPSU and the USSR. As a manifestation and symbol of the reviving spirit that inspires the Soviet Communists—who were the first builders of a new world—it had a particularly powerful response and impressed the entire socialist community, the international workers, and communist movement, as well as the whole contemporary world, in an unprecedented manner. In full accordance with the July 1987 plenum concept, the BCP considers the vitally important socialist pluralism of opinions as a manifestation of real democracy, which permeated Soviet society and found a form of expression in the work of the conference, in the Leninist essence of the bold and innovative decisions. Our party found in the bold and innovative decisions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference a solid basis, a support, and a source of inspiration for a revolutionary restructuring process in our country as a whole, and in the intellectual sphere, in particular.

Comrades, **Comrade Todor Zhivkov's Reflections on Restructuring the Intellectual Sphere played an exceptionally beneficial role in the preparations for the present plenum.** We are talking about a document, which **developed basic postulates for the strategy of this revolutionary cause.** Exceptional importance should be attached **to the postulates about urgently required measures to create conditions for the active involvement of the intelligentsia in the revolutionary restructuring process of our society;** about the correct political evaluation of the fundamental processes that are taking place within the intelligentsia and are promoting the development of new socialist **values and criteria** of creative work and in evaluating intellectual products; about the shortcomings and mistakes allowed to occur in the work of certain party, state, and social organs as a result of which certain unfavorable phenomena have developed in some sectors of intellectual life.

Along with the publication of Comrade Zhivkov's reflections, the beginning of a fundamental, diversified, and innovative process in our society's intellectual life was marked, an open-minded dialogue based on principle between the party and the intelligentsia was initiated, and an atmosphere of overall intellectual upsurge, and a deep involvement of our entire public in settling complicated problems pertaining to the organization and development of the intellectual sphere was created as well.

The chief result produced by the analysis of the reflections in the party meetings that were held for this purpose was the convincing and confirmed unanimity of thought between party and intelligentsia. The lofty political and civic initiative of creative workers and cultural figures of all generations, and their readiness to get actively involved in the innovative process were openly manifested.

Categorical approval was expressed at the meetings for the applied **approach** to the organization of a wide **democratic dialogue** with the Communist members of the intelligentsia.

The policy of high trust in the people's intelligentsia expressed by the party, both in Todor Zhivkov's reflections and in the debates at party meetings, was convincingly asserted and the party's conviction of the important role assigned to the people's intelligentsia in social life and in the restructuring process **was convincingly manifested.**

Along with the postulates contained in the reflections, the state of work in the respective scientific and cultural institutions, in higher and secondary educational establishments, and in the mass media was the main focus of attention at the party meetings. It was pointed out that the Communists appreciate the achievements in our intellectual life as results of the Leninist general line of the BCP adopted by the 1956 April plenum. At the same time, the conclusion drawn in Todor Zhivkov's reflections about the existence of **shortcomings in the leadership of the intellectual sphere** was confirmed. It was established that serious problems exist in the work with cadres, as well as in the style and methods of leading organs and of certain individual institution leaders. Several Communists are concerned about the pettiness, mediocrity, leveling, and stagnation in the atmosphere of certain collectives, about the existence of "dynasties" in certain spheres, and about the widely spread unofficial criteria. The need for a new image for various institutions and units in the intellectual sphere is urgently felt; new structures and modern labor organization, as well as contemporary information services are required and this **applies in particular to the necessary innovation of cadres and of material-technical conditions.**

We are concerned that in numerous cases the role of party organizations has been considerably underrated. The party organizations are often placed in a subordinate position regarding their relations with administrative leading bodies. This is an anomaly which can no longer be tolerated. The party can exercise its vanguard role most effectively through the rank and file party organizations and their members, and not only through its various leading organs.

As a rule, the evaluations and critical remarks voiced at the party meetings were of a **constructive nature.** This was expressed in numerous proposals submitted during the debates. They were analyzed, summed up, and taken into consideration in compiling the three draft documents on restructuring in science, education, and arts which where submitted for discussion to the present plenum. As a result of this, the documents became **a collective product of the party and the intelligentsia** in the

true sense of the word. These documents naturally reflect both the results of the throughly analyzed rich Soviet experience, and the achievements of other countries in the intellectual sphere.

Following the publication of the three draft documents on restructuring in the intellectual sphere, the discussion became **nationwide.** Entire collectives from scientific and cultural institutions, from educational establishments, and mass media joined the discussion, and collectives from other spheres and sectors of social life got involved too. Through the press, radio, and television hundreds of Bulgarian citizens expressed their ideas and submitted specific proposals, or manifested wishes on numerous and most diversified issues of science, education, and culture. **The common and most characteristic feature of all these statements and proposals is the fact that they are based upon and conceived in the spirit of the further construction of socialism in our country. The requirement for a thorough restructuring of the intellectual sphere** set forth both in the reflections and in the draft documents is unconditionally supported. **The basic approaches, trends, and methods of implementing the restructuring process are categorically supported as well.**

Certain **differences in the views expressed** manifested themselves during the discussions. The three memoranda [spravki] that have been distributed in advance reflect the most essential of these differences. I would like to stress in this connection that **these differences are by no means subjecting to doubt either the necessity, or the nature, essence, and meaning of this revolutionary** process in the development of the intellectual life in socialist Bulgaria.

In discussing the draft documents certain shortcomings also manifested themselves. The voices of some very distinguished cultural figures were not heard, for example. No discussion took place on certain views and concepts which, to one extent or another, are at variance with the truth, and the debates on certain issues did not always reach the necessary theoretical essence, depth, and so forth.

It is, nevertheless, very important to stress that all proposals on addenda or amendments to certain postulates are dictated by the sincere wish to overcome shortcomings and to elevate science, culture, and education to a position from which they can worthily contribute to the historical task of revolutionary innovation in our society.

Many of the proposals submitted on restructuring problems pertain to addenda, amendments, and clarifications of certain postulates set forth in the draft documents and belong to the **range of tasks to be dealt with by the present plenum.** They were most carefully reviewed, as a result of which **it has been proposed to make a number of changes** to the documents.

Other proposals pertain to questions that will be discussed and solved at the forthcoming three congresses—of science, culture, and education. They will be organized in a system and submitted for discussion at the aforementioned congresses.

The third series of problems pertains to the self-managing organizations in the intellectual sphere, or to various state, economic, and social organs and organizations. They will be submitted to the respective organs and organizations for discussion and solution.

Our task at this plenum is to thoroughly discuss the draft documents, as well as the remarks and proposals submitted on them and to analyze them in detail. The point of view of the Politburo is that, after they have been approved by the Central Committee, the documents should be proposed as a **platform for the preparation of the forthcoming congresses of workers in the sectors of science, education, and arts.**

Comrades,

How can we describe the goals of the BCP Central Committee in dealing with the documents submitted for discussion?

The chief goal is to determine the **basic tasks** and to map out the **main trends and approaches** of restructuring in the intellectual spheres, and not to provide solutions for the numerous, existing problems. This is the right, duty, and responsibility of the three self-managing communities, their organs, and collectives.

The main issue we would like to and are obliged to solve is the question **of attaining a hundredfold increase in the contribution of the intellectual sphere to Bulgaria's material and cultural production.** We can achieve this goal only if we develop an intelligentsia that is capable of coping with all the tasks that confront us every hour, every minute, due to the stormy development of scientific-technical, social, and cultural progress of the contemporary world. We can achieve this goal only if we raise the intellectual standards of all the people and each individual, only if we continuously and at an accelerated pace manage to increase the intellectual wealth of all our society.

To achieve these lofty goals it is necessary to create **new models** for the leadership, the functioning and development of science, culture, and education. These models should conform to the needs of restructuring, not only in the aforementioned spheres, but in society as a whole.

The renewal of the intellectual sphere will be implemented on the basis of the common principles of restructuring that were established by the July Concept. Naturally, this should be accomplished in accordance with the specific nature of intellectual production, and with the specific nature of each intellectual production unit.

The July Concept, the core and most essential feature of which is **authentic popular democracy** developed to the highest possible level—namely **socialist self-management**—requires that the leadership, functioning, and development of the intellectual sphere should be freed of all forms and manifestations of command-administrative methods, approaches, and means. In no other sphere are such methods more strongly contraindicated. As a matter of fact, the introduction and establishment of **the basic principle of restructuring—self-management,** implies the following:

—granting power to the creators of benefits;

—observing the voluntary principle in forming collectives and associations of collectives;

—developing organs and organizations from the bottom to the top and establishing of their functions, rights, duties, and responsibilities from the bottom to the top; and

—making uniform the rights and responsibilities for the self-managing unit in solving all questions within the range of its competence and capacities.

Self-management represents a new type of democracy that provides **vast opportunities for the initiative, talent, thought, and imagination, creates conditions both for the competition of ideas, views, and creative achievements, and for respecting and conforming with the interests of the consumers of intellectual values.** This type of democracy presupposed **new views** both on organizating the creation of intellectual values and for developing and satisfying intellectual needs. An overall organization of intellectual life is required that will ensure an upsurge in establishing and making use of the creative products. We are obliged to establish conditions for the mass application of the best, first-class products and to make them accessible to the people on a mass scale.

On the basis of democratization, **harmony** between the integrated parts of the uniform system of intellectual life—culture, science, and education—will be developed.

Democratization will give us the opportunity to create all necessary conditions to make the existence of monopolism impossible and prevent power from being concentrated in the hands of a single individual. It will guarantee a normal regeneration of our nation's creative potential, facilitate the timely replacement of leading and creative cadres in the intellectual sphere with young and well-trained cadres, and involve all capable creative workers in constructive labor.

And one thing further; it will create the necessary conditions for establishing **creative discussion** as a method for the existence, development, and perfecting of everyone and everything in the intellectual sphere; for establishing **socialist pluralism** of ideas and opinions as a natural condition for communist thought, that ever watchfully and tirelessly seeks to divine all the secrets of nature and society; and for establishing **objectivity of criticism**—scientific, artistic, and so on, as a method and means for driving a high barrier between the true intellectual values and their imitation, as a steadfast defender of true gifts and talents and a guardian of the people's intellectual wellbeing.

Furthermore, and perhaps most importantly, democratization will blaze a very **broad road,** along which spiritual values will reach the heart and consciousness of the millions of working people, to ennoble the people's soul and enlighten their reason. Conversely, the people's joy and suffering, their yearnings and aspirations, their desire for an even happier life will all pass along the same road to give creative daring to the teacher, sureness of thought to the scientist, plausibility to literary heroes, a national Bulgarian and socialist ring to modern songs, and so forth.

In restructuring the intellectual sphere based on the principles and requirements of socialist self-management, we are setting ourselves the following tasks:

—to implement **a uniform and uninterruptible process of education and qualification** throughout the whole of man's life and working career;

—to raise the **qualitative level** of the general education and professional training of students throughout the educational system, at the same time intensifying the **upbringing function** of this training;

—to stimulate, through **purpose-designed organization,** society's intellectual potential, to permit the scientific front to establish itself as a **powerful generator** of **new ideas** and a **creator** of important **scientific and technological products,** worthy of the high goals;

—to realize a **synthesis of science, information science, and the computer** as the core of universal intellectualization;

—to create **real opportunities for everyone, wherever they live or work,** to benefit from the values of the whole of intellectual culture;

—and to elevate and establish **the municipalities as centers of rich intellectual life.**

These are some of the main and most important but not the only issues, through the successful solution of which, in the course of the necessary profound change, the intellectual sphere will make its own contribution to the revolutionary renewal of society.

The success of the restructuring of the intellectual sphere will depend to a crucial extent on the awareness and energy of **the actual workers** in science, culture, and education, and on their will to fight until complete victory is gained. The renewal not only must not, but cannot be carried out **from above**. It is the duty and responsibility **of the intelligentsia themselves**, and must be carried out **by them**.

Comrades, when we examine the question of the motive forces of restructuring, we cannot fail to pay special attention to two areas of intellectual life, whose influence upon all the subjects and factors of renewal is spreading, and moreover in a direct manner. I refer to **the social sciences** and **the mass media**.

In the course of restructuring one is becoming increasingly clearly and acutely aware of the real **social need for the creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory and all the social sciences**, and fundamentally new **expectations** and **requirements** are forming with regard to their content and standard.

The radical nature of restructuring and its all-embracing character demand that we **penetrate to the roots of things** and elucidate much more completely and in greater depth the very **essence** of the socialist order, the natural laws governing its development, and the global processes in the modern world. **Accordingly, the point at issue is a renewal of the social sciences at a fundamental level.**

At both the fundamental and applied levels of the social sciences it is now necessary to reveal **the contradictions,** propose **a multitude of alternative solutions,** and promote the **unleashing of the energy** of the motive forces of restructuring.

In other words, we must reestablish the totally **revolutionary-critical, revolutionary-transforming, and revolutionary-creative nature** of the social role of these forces.

Mastering the scientific approach to reality and the scientific style in management and self-management is immensely important for creating a **new intellectual climate** and for increasing the social maturity of people and society. One must therefore correctly understand both the need for **a scientific outlook** [nauchnost] and the developed **capacity** of society to meet this need. The scientific outlook is a powerful **limiting factor** on self-willed arrogance and arbitrariness, the damaging feeling of indecisiveness, obstinate partiality, and self-conceited omniscience. Under the conditions of the operation of the new economic regulators and self-management, together with freedom for people to fulfill themselves, there will also be a growing need for **competence** in solving economic, political, juridical, and other social issues. Therefore the social sciences must direct their attention to the problems that arise in the course of the formation and functioning of the social communities and organizations of the self-managing type. In this sphere, real life is now becoming a true social laboratory, in which the social sciences have the opportunity to make Fundamental discoveries and meet the challenges to their practical usefulness.

In the process of restructuring **the mass media are changing their very position and role in the system of social life.**

The real action of self-management and the struggle for more socialism and democratization of our society imply the need for **democratizing the distribution of social information.** The democratization of the structures of government also inevitably leads to **a redistribution** of information, including information as a culture. Therefore **the mass media are suddenly coming into the center of social life,** forming one of the main lines for interaction in social life, and becoming the most important channel for a most natural **and broad social dialogue.**

Under these conditions **glasnost** becomes a **vital necessity** for socialist society and the self-managing communities that make it up, and also becomes an irrevocable **duty and responsibility** for the mass media. Precisely a duty and responsibility, because the correct functioning of the entire social organism, the success of restructuring, and the development of our socialist society all depend on glasnost.

The mass media themselves can become a motive force of restructuring **to the same extent** that the individual, collective, and various social groups are actively, democratically, publicly, critically, openly, and with civic boldness becoming co-authors of publications and radio and television programs.

The essential, meaningful "key" to the restructuring of the mass media lies in the standard of their work and the extent to which it conforms to their new position.

The new historical realities also pose the requirement for new criteria and approaches to all the functions of journalism—to journalism as an information activity, information as culture, and culture as information.

Journalism must now make really begin to make use of **scientific research means.** The problems posed by journalism must represent original **social discoveries** and reveal **the logic** of restructuring as an objective, all-embracing process. **What is needed is not merely the recording, but the analysis of reality—in-depth, critical, objective, complete, and comprehensive analysis.**

To ensure the further successful development of the mass media and increase their social effectiveness, we must resolve **two major tasks**:

—we must create **a modern structure for the press,** that also most fully meets the reasonable requirements of the new social structures; and

—we must adopt a **law on the press** to regulate all the relations arising from the activity of the mass media and lay down the rights and responsibilities of the mass media under the new social conditions.

Comrades, the BCP is in the literal sense of the word the motive force and political guarantor for implementing **restructuring as a revolutionary cause.** The party is the generator of the ideas of this revolutionary process. At the same time, restructuring as a revolutionary all-party

cause can only be transformed into a cause in which all citizens take an active and direct part, into a cause of the whole of the people, by the efforts of the party organizations and the Communists working in the various fields of social life.

Restructuring in the intellectual sphere is an all-party cause. It demands the active involvement and assistance of the party organizations and leaderships **in all spheres** of life. It concerns the interests of all the workers.

A higher standard of **civilized behavior,** more **humanity,** more **intelligence**—these are what are needed everywhere now.

Of course, special attention must be given first of all to improving the political and ideological work in **the party organizations within the intellectual sphere itself.**

What are the main requirements now? The party organizations in the intellectual sphere should set the tone for **new thinking and innovative inquiry** and be **at the forefront of the renewal processes.** They should become a real creative and stimulating force for revolutionary views and actions for restructuring, an organizer and decisive factor in carrying it out through the collectives. They must set a firm course toward creating a **political, moral, and ideological** climate for implementing the July Concept.

They must consistently concern themselves with **establishing the party organizations as organizers of the whole of the intelligentsia, to actively involve them in the revolutionary renewal of life.** This means that their work should be directed in such a way that **the main issues are resolved by the intelligentsia themselves.** It is **the Communists** that **bear the greatest responsibility** for creating an atmosphere in which every worker in culture, science, and education senses his rights and responsibilities in the implementation of restructuring.

First and foremost, they must master the new developments in applying the political approach and establish and develop the new features of this approach, which are determined by its organic unity with the "mechanism" of the self-managing communities' functioning. **In resolving all the key issues within the self-managing communities, the Communists must impose their authority through the most creative, able, and daring ideas, and not through the decisions of some party organ or other.**

The development of **intraparty democracy** must be accelerated within the party organizations of the intellectual sphere. This implies expanding collectivity and the collective principle, ensuring conditions for the views of the Communists to be put forward and respected, and widening publicity and glasnost in the work of the party organizations and their organs.

The implementation of the vanguard role of the Communists requires that they pay attention every day to maintaining **not only their political and professional, but also their moral prestige.**

It is especially important now to overcome a certain disregard of the **moral** aspects of people's behavior. We must eliminate the tacit grading of qualities—political, business, professional, and others, under which moral qualities come at the very end and, moreover, are regarded as desirable, but not necessarily indispensible.

The reassessment of the requirements placed on Communists implies high stringency with regard to new entrants to the party. They must be the flag-bearers and exponents of the new elements in the revolutionary restructuring.

The chief thing in the work of the party organs is that they should **create an atmosphere of creativity, high competence, and business efficiency,** and assist in developing the work of the primary organizations in conformity with the principles and conditions of self-management. A further issue of particular importance is that **the party organs and organizations should establish themselves not only as the partner, but also, where required, as the opponent of the organs of self-management, state organs, and social organizations.** They should stimulate the units of the **sociopolitical organizations** in the intellectual sphere in understanding and mastering their functions under self-management conditions.

Let us hope, Comrades, that the documents and debates of the present forum will provide starting points and stimuli for developing the processes in the direction of a true, in-depth, and fruitful restructuring of intellectual life in our society.

Report on Yordanov Speech

AU2207194088 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 21 Jul 88 p 3

[Report on speech made by Georgi Yordanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of culture, science, and education, at the BCP Central Committee Plenum on intellectual restructuring in Sofia on 20 July]

[Text] The session of the BCP Central Committee is arousing lively interest and expectations. This can, of course, be explained by the awareness of the indispensable role of the human factor in turning Bulgaria into a highly developed and civilized socialist state. However, it seems to me that the social activity and the way it has been expressed publicly in recent months indicate something else that is very important, namely that when the people are drawn in to the discussion of social problems and the views of everyone who strongly supports a positive change are taken into account, the party's role and prestige steadily grow.

We are debating theoretical elaborations and propositions for practical action that, as many other comrades have also stressed, have many merits. It is evident that they embody in a metamorphosed form the style and innovative creative ideas of the general secretary of the BCP Central Committee. It is not difficult to understand that the measures being proposed for radical renewal in the fields of science, culture, and education are revolutionary in nature. From this stem the difficulties and contradictions in this complex dialectical process.

The period of restructuring is a time for taking deep thought and making a fundamental assessment, a time for bold criticism and self-criticism, Comrade Georgi Yordanov continued. It is hardly possible now that any worker in intellectual production could say, as in the famous "tale" by Khristo Smirnenski: "This does not concern me."

Here is the right place for me to declare that I accept, with inner conviction, the assessments and conclusions concerning the problems that have accumulated in the intellectual field. I share the alarm and fair criticism contained in Comrade Todor Zhivkov's Reflections. I agree with the draft resolutions and the introductory speech. I believe that the plenum documents indicate a correct solution and reveal a real opportunity for developing toward the better.

There are many problems we have encountered at the fateful stage of restructuring. However, it appears to me that, above all, the vital need has been revealed for broad democratization of the intellectual life of man and society. It is true that socialism in its Leninist model is the incarnation of popular power. The defeats inflicted on the cult of personality, command- administrative methods, and bureaucratism are great and, in certain cases, tragic. However, this does not imply that we should lightly reject everything in previous practice. I think we will be acting correctly if we do not start from the beginning, but continue, using the beginning as a foundation, basing our steps on the roots. The roots and socialist foundation of our cultural development are our treasured property. They comprise our national revival traditions, that have been developed and enriched, and the values of the party's Leninist April policy. During the historic stage after 1956 we applied democratic principles, structures, and forms in the management of the intellectual processes, and created most favorable conditions for an intellectual upsurge. The international prestige of Bulgarian socialist culture was raised to an unprecedented level. In this respect, the services of the eminent party and social worker Lyudmila Zhivkova are immense.

The results of applying the social-state and state-social principles guarantee the development of self-management. This does not imply that we are closing our eyes to certain distortions and weaknesses that are mentioned in the materials of the plenum. In the name of a sham unity we came to terms with manifestations of monopolism and other negative phenomena that corrode unity and poison the creative atmosphere. The dialogue conducted with the intelligentsia concerning the Reflections demonstrated the timely nature of the measures adopted by the party for deep changes.

Comrade Georgi Yordanov stated that the proposal that leading posts in the intellectual field should be held for not more than two terms, that several candidates should be considered for each post, and that the competitive principle should be applied was a correct one.

It is clear, he stressed, that the democratization of scientific, educational, and artistic-creative activities also requires a new system of principles and incentives to combat leveling, mediocrity, and complacency. The lessons of life show that great, real power must be granted to the municipalities and their intellectual development councils, to the self-managing organizations concerned with ideas, to the special-purpose collectives, and to the schools. All posts whose work can be carried out on social principles must be abolished, and greater numbers of creative and other workers should be appointed on temporary labor contracts. This applies most of all to certain theaters, musical groups, publishing houses, editorial offices, and artistic-creative unions. In recent years, for example, the staff of the Committee for Culture has been cut by more than half, but the work has not suffered.

It is a natural consequence of the democratization process that the municipalities should be opened up to the great centers and to world culture, and that intellectual values should reach every home and every person. In the future the emphasis should be placed on a dynamic cultural life in the territorial communities, villages, town districts, and production collectives.

The conditions are already available for the self-managing communities to exert a most beneficial influence on intellectual progress. In Ruse, Kazanluk, Lom, Tolbukhin, Pravets, Pleven, Veliko Turnovo, Botevgrad, and elsewhere, cooperation between labor collectives, schools, and cultural and scientific institutes, and the investment of funds by economic enterprises and organizations in science, art, and education are producing positive results. This is logical, since expenditures made on the intellectual, emotional, and physical health of the workers and the youth produce the most effect. The need has now arisen to abandon the practice of allocating out whatever is left over for developing people's cultural and educational standards and for fundamental scientific research, as well as the idea that the state must be responsible for and worry about everything.

It is well known, the speaker pointed out, that a rich material base for culture and education was built up during the years of April creative work. However, conditions have changed, people's needs have grown. Many facilities have become worn out; poor maintenance and the poorly developed production of technical equipment for cultural and educational work have had their effect. We are fairly criticized for the failures in this field—for

unsatisfactory working conditions in television, film services, and printing, and in certain libraries and reading rooms, scientific institutes, and schools. Duty demands that we seek solutions to these problems.

It is well known that the best management is that which reveals advantages and "teaches us to manage ourselves." Self-management in the intellectual sphere is a condition for making the fullest use of the nation's mighty intellectual potential and for realizing in practice the gifts of the individual and the capacities of the creative collectives in resolving the main socioeconomic and cultural-educational tasks of society.

I fully agree with the proposal that the creative collectives should be formed on a voluntary basis and that they should be able to form associations with other self-managing organizations, Comrade Georgi Yordanov continued. The administration with full powers by the creative collectives of the facilities handed over to them, of socialist and intellectual property, and of intellectual values, and the right to freely draw up plans, programs, and repertoires provides the prerequisites for creating liberated, questing organizations in the field of ideas that are full of initiative.

I would like to state my view that democracy is incompatible with the existence of secret places where unknown persons are put. People must know what is being done in the intellectual field and in the other sectors of life. Glasnost is a breath of fresh ozone for the social and moral atmosphere, a powerful means for combatting negative phenomena. As they say, the more truth, the more faith there is.

We are an open society, we seek pure springs for inspiration in the past and in our creative modern times. Glasnost has an indispensable role in this respect too. Indeed, as Lenin said, "it is a knife that itself heals the wounds it inflicts." In other words, it is a blade that can wound. I support the viewpoint that is embodied in the plenum documents, namely that the right to criticize in the mass media also carries with it an obligation to write in a professional way, without prejudice, and to respect people's honor. Those who spread libel in the press, or slander on radio or television, are answerable under the law.

The issue of scientific disputes and creative discussions is an especially topical one today. It is no coincidence that it was also discussed at the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. I am convinced that socialist pluralism of opinions must become the norm in our intellectual life. It can only be regretted that the standard of debates is still a weak point in the efforts of certain sectors to democratize themselves. On occasion the existence of a different view arouses hostility, heightened emotions, and vicious backbiting. We are still paying the price for outdated notions, according to which every discussion must end with the adoption of some document, such as an editorial article, which from among the different views must impose a so-called correct interpretation. This is not always possible, nor necessary. Very often some things must be left to mature, to crystallize. It is a good thing if the debate leaves a door open for new views, the more so since no one holds a monopoly over the truth. We should not underestimate the capacity of people to think independently, differentiate the good from the bad, the beautiful from the base.

From this also stems the need to consciously seek and study the assessments made by the consumers of intellectual values. Everyone knows that the verdict of the people and the times is the truest yardstick. However, I think that the professional assessment should not be artificially opposed to the opinion of the broad public, because great art also requires an informed public. If we make ourselves aware of the dialectical interrelationship between the two, we will protect ourselves from simplified interpretations, from a bias toward dubious scientific and esthetic values, and from the reemergence of so-called "mass culture."

It is impossible to achieve a climate of civilized dialogue without an intellectual readiness to work in partnership with all constructive elements in world culture, science, literature, and education. An excellent example in this direction is our cultural cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries. Low-standard, regional, homegrown criteria, the habit of comparing ourselves with each another, and comparing past results with the present, instead of with the trends and challenges of the future, hold up development.

Comrade Georgi Yordanov pointed out that the immense efforts of the party and society for restructuring in the intellectual field should be reflected by the new qualitative level. The changes in administrative structures, the further democratization and glasnost, the contemporary material-technical base, and the body of regulations and laws for the basic relations in this sphere are not ends in themselves, but forms and means, a path that leads to the strategic goal. It is true that brilliant works of art and discoveries in science do not lend themselves to planning, and do not depend solely on our wishes. The state and society can create the most favorable democratic conditions for talents to flourish and for continuous intellectual advance. This is the historic advantage of socialism.

It is right that talented scientists, scholars, masters in the arts, outstanding teachers, and the best workers should be the people best respected and provided for. It is right to create effective economic, normative, and creative conditions for high professionalism in everything everywhere. It is particularly important to fight against profit-seeking, selfish motives, and underestimating of the ideological essence of socialist culture.

Without doubt, the application of specific regulations of the economic mechanism in the intellectual sphere will contribute to fully realizing the capacities of our intellectual potential and to attaining world standards.

The synthesis of culture, science, and education is an objective necessity that opens up broad prospects for creative work and beneficial educational activity and for raising the intelligentsia's joint moral responsibility for the fate of restructuring. May the first twigs and shoots of this process be preserved.

In conclusion, Comrade Georgi Yordanov said:

To sum up, in my view it is necessary to support the initiatives for organic cooperation, for a holy alliance of science, culture, and education with production and many-sided, fast-changing social practice. These are useful steps in the right direction toward the great goal—the direction that Karl Marx defined as harmony between the material and intellectual production of socialist society.

Other Speeches Reported

AU2507130888 [Editorial Report] Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 20, 21, and 22 July carries "slightly abridged summaries" of speeches read at the 19-20 July BCP Central Committee Plenum totalling 33,400 words in all.

In its issue of 20 July the paper carries on pages 3, 4, and 5 summaries of the following speeches read at the BCP Central Committee 19-20 July Plenum:

1. A 2,000-word report on page 3 on the speech by Ilcho Dimitrov, "member of the BCP Central Committee, minister, and chairman of the Higher Study Council." According to the report, Dimitov discusses Bulgaria's school system, and stresses the importance of "strengthening the restructuring of the educational system on the basis of the July concept and the decisions of the BCP National Conference, and in the spirit of the reflections of Comrade Todor Zhivkov on restructuring the intellectual sphere." He also outlines in general form the tasks of Bulgarian schools in educating the young generation.

2. A 1,200-word report on page 3 on the speech by Todor Nikolov, "chairman of the Higher Certifying Commission." Nikolov deals with issues related to "certifying scientific and scientific-educational cadres," and describes the commission's activities in bestowing scientific degrees.

3. A 1,500-word report on page 3 on the speech by Lyubomir Levchev, "member of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the Union of Bulgarian Writers." According to the report, Levchev focuses on the role of Bulgarian writers in restructuring in the intellectual sphere. He stresses various difficulties of Bulgarian writers in the past, such as "anonymous letters and articles against our most talented creators," "vicious articles" against them, and "suspicion toward any new idea." He describes the successes of Bulgarian writers and the activity of the Union of Bulgarian Writers, but points out that "the criticism against the Union of Bulgarian Writers contained in the Reflections of Comrade Todor Zhivkov, is just and constructive." He stresses the need "to simplify the structure of the Union of Bulgarian Writers," and reduce the size of its executive council.

4. A 1,200-word report on page 4 on the speech by Vancha Doycheva, "chairman of the Union of Bulgarian Actors." Doycheva discusses the role of Bulgarian theater in educating the people. She stresses the need to introduce "regulating mechanisms," which will "purify the entire theater system," laments the fact that "bureaucrats, dogmatists, and careerists" have been allowed to rule "certain creative unions and units of the Committee on Culture," and demands that the sphere of the theater be completely restructured.

5. A 1,200-word report on page 4 on the speech by Matey Mateev, "first secretary of the BCP Committee at Sofia's Klement Okhridski University." Mateev stresses the importance of restructuring the activity of the university "in order to turn the university into an excellent scientific center and advance toward self-administration." He criticizes past cases of "building scientific carriers on administrative power and selfishly utilizing the work of others for one's own goals," and appeals for help on the part of the state to "avoid lagging behind in science and technology."

6. A 1,200-word report on page 4 on the speech by Stanish Bonev, "member of the BCP Central Committee and rector of the Academy on Social Sciences and Social Management" in which Bonev expresses a "total support of Comrade Todor Zhivkov's reflections on some problems and tasks related to restructuring the intellectual sphere." Bonev describes the development of social sciences in Bulgaria after the BCP Central Committee April Plenum and says: "The new social situation requires relinquishing dogmas, stereotypes, and schemes, which have become bankrupt, and find and put into effect unconventional and alternative solutions." Bonev emphasizes the importance of improving the "organization and self-management of science," and proposes to "link the scientific growth of the cadres to their scientific work and the assessment of their scientific product by the consumers."

7. A 1,500-word report on pages 4 and 5 on the speech by Panteley Zarev, "member of the BCP Central Committee and deputy chairman of the Academy of Sciences," deals in general terms with restructuring the field of culture. Zarev describes the "role and responsibility" of the various fields of culture and expresses the hope that "the forthcoming practice of restructuring will show that the social sciences, culture, and education can create the necessary climate of moral strength and social optimism."

8. A 1,200-word report on page 5 on the speech by Nikolay Zhishev, "member of the BCP Central Committee and first secretary of the BCP Burgas Okrug Committee," in which Zhishev describes the practice of intellectual restructuring in Burgas Oblast. In this context Zhishev calls for an "increase in the ideological and

professional level of artistic output," and greater dissemination of artistic values. He also emphasizes the "role of the ancient cultural traditions" in the esthetic education of the young generation.

9. A 1,200-word report on page 5 on the speech by Asya Emilova, "member of the State Council and principal of the elementary school in Byala Palanka Village, Burgas Oblast," in which Emilova describes the training of teachers and their role in educating the young generation. Emilova proposes to increase the workload of the teachers from 18 to 22 hours per week and "assert the role of the teacher as a basic figure in restructuring the educational system."

10. A 1,200-word report on page 5 on the speech by Atanas Atanasov, "candidate member of the BCP Central Committee and director of the Central Laboratory on Genetic Engineering at the Agrarian Academy," describes the activity of the genetic engineering laboratory and the importance of scientific planning. The importance of using computers in scientific activity is pointed out.

In its issue of 21 July RABOTNICHESKO DELO carries on pages 2-5 carries summaries of the following speeches made at the BCP Central Committee 19-20 July plenum.

1. A 1,300-word report on page 2 on the speech by Andrey Bundzhulov, "candidate member of the BCP Central Committee and first secretary of the Dimitrov Komsomol Central Committee," in which Bundzhulov views intellectual restructuring from the young person's point of view. Bundzhulov advocates stimulating amateur and voluntary activities by young people, and describes the restructuring of the Komsomol aimed at increasing voluntary initiative among the youth. He calls for more "independence, trust, and responsibility" to be given to the youth, for a new relationship between teachers and lecturers and their students. Criticizing the present lack of contact between the school, family and labor collective, he calls for "integration between the schools, higher educational establishments, and labor collectives" and the "building of a new system for working education and professional orientation on the territory of the goods producers." More effort, says Bundzhulov, should also be given to more rapidly developing the careers of young scientific workers and specialists.

2. A 2,100-word report on page 2 on the speech by Stanka Shopova, "member of the BCP Central Committee and secretary of Sofia City BCP Committee," in which she describes the broad, open, and critical dialogue on intellectual restructuring that took place among Sofia's intellectual workers before the plenum. This resulted, according to Shopova, in defining the following main tasks: a) "to unite and direct the capital's vast intellectual potential so that its fruits reach every house, every workplace and every person"; b) to ensure that the capital's intellectual restructuring sets the tone for the country as a whole in effecting "a radical change in society's attitude to artistic culture and intellectual production in general"; and c) to ensure that the primary party organization fulfills its key role in promoting intellectual restructuring. Shopova outlines numerous weaknesses that have developed within the grassroots party organizations in the capital and must be overcome by enforcing party discipline and developing intraparty democracy and glasnost.

3. A 2,000-word report on page 2 on the speech by Ivan Popov, "member of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the Central Council of Scientific-Technical Unions," in which Popov deals with reforms in scientific research work. Popov warns against establishing "strictly specific and categorical forms for restructuring" and advocates more flexibility in organizing scientific research. More attention, says Popov should be paid to engineering research, which has lost prestige in recent years. Popov also points out that the staff of organizations engaged in applied research have an inferior salary structure as compared to fundamental researchers, which gives rise to many problems. Another problem, notes Popov, is the lack of unity in determining the directions of research, since the Ministry of Culture, Science, and Education makes the necessary decisions for fundamental research, and the Ministry of the Economy and Planning—for applied research, despite the organic links between the two forms of research. Popov concludes by stressing the need to foster Bulgarian creativity and inventiveness in the development of new production equipment, too much of which, he says is at present imported.

4. A 2,200-word report on pages 2 and 3 of the speech by Diko Fuchedzhiev, "candidate member of the BCP Central Committee and director of the Ivan Vazov National Theater," in which he discusses the problem of "monopolism" in the arts, publishing, the theater, cinema, and other fields, where people in authority act like dictators and show favor to friends and relatives. Fuchedzhiev views the widespread practiace of being stuck in a "routine and following old models" in the theater, where there is a dearth of stimulating, imaginative new productions. He also touches on problems in actor-management relations and a lack of professionalism in the theater, due to which one-fifth of the National Theater performances last season had to be canceled. Fuchedzhiev then criticizes the top-heavy administration of the Writers Union, which tends to stifle rather than promote creativity, and demands that the union should devote more attention to new creative writers. He also points out that the Artistic Performers Union is "more a trade union, and should be transformed into a creative organization."

5. A 1,700-word report on page 3 of the speech by Blagovest Sendov, "deputy chairman of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences," in which he deals with reorganizing and improving the system of financing scientific work. Sendov favors a competitive system whereby scientific organizations have to submit bids for the available funding. Sendov voices support for a maximum tenure of two terms for academic administrators, but is against limiting the term of office of

the working chiefs of academic departments. He concludes by outlining the current reorganization and improvements being carried out in the work of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences.

6. A 1,300-word report on page 4 on the speech of Siyka Neykova, "secretary of the Fatherland Front National Council." Neykova describes the importance of patriotism and the study of Bulgarian history. She describes the role of the cultural clubs (chitalishta) in the villages and towns as "cultural institutes" and "uniform complex centers" for improving the education of all generations. She stresses the importance of the correct study of the Bulgarian language and history, and in this context quotes Todor Zhivkov as saying that "we are internationalists, but internationalism has nothing in common with national nihilism and indifference toward national history and fate."

7. A 2,100-word report on page 4 on the speech of Radoslav Radev, "candidate member of the BCP Central Committee and chief editor of RABOTNICHESKO DELO," focusing on the role of the mass media in general, and RABOTNICHESKO DELO in particular in facilitating the success of restructuring in Bulgaria. Radev analyzes the importance of glasnost as a factor in developing "a dialogue between the leadership and the people," and proposes the following initiatives for improving this dialogue:

As soon as a particular difficulty in social life appears, "such as the supply of specific goods or rumors on a price increase," the most responsible leader in the relevant area "must immediately appear in the mass media and explain the matter."

"The doors of traditionally closed departments, such as the military, the militia, the courts, and the general prosecutor system, must be opened more widely."

"A part of the Politburo activity could be 'declassified.' The readers must know more about its intensive work and concentration of forces and willpower on global issues."

Twice a year, and possibly even more often, the chairman of the Council of Ministers could give an interview to RABOTNICHESKO DELO "on the crucial issues of our internal and international policy." In a similar vein, other members of the Politburo could do the same in issues related to the area of their specific activity. "This could be an original report to the party and the people as well as a manifestation of the fact that we all are subjected to the control of society," Radoslav Radev says in conclusion.

8. A 1,500-word report on page 4 on the speech of Vasil Prodanov, "professor at the Academy of Social Sciences and Social Management," deals with the ideological and theoretical-philosophical aspects of restructuring. Prodanov describes the importance of philosophy and notes that "the revolution in philosophy does not conclude, but on the contrary, preceeds the sociopolitical revolution." In this context he describes the role of philosophical studies in facilitating restructuring.

9. A 1,800-word report on pages 4 and 5 on the speech of Khristo Neykov, "candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Union of Bulgarian Painters," analyzing the role of arts in general and painting in particular in the socialist society. Neykov stresses the importance of democracy and points out that the development of democracy "means more responsibility for the artists, because artistic activity has a unique active power of influence." He stresses the importance of "dividing the administrative and professional functions" within the Union of Bulgarian Painters, and proposes "to simplify the existing system and give more independence to the creative and artistic-production units."

RABOTNICHESKO DELO on 22 July on page 3 carries summaries of the following speeches made at the BCP Central Committee 19-20 July Plenum:

1. A 1,300-word report on the speech by Vasil Mikhov, "director of the Mikhaylovgrad Exemplary Electronics Technical School," dealing with restructuring the educational system and "the consistent drawing together of the two basic branches of education—the professional and general ones." Mikhov describes his school's successes and stresses the importance of the "strong integration of schools and production enterprises."

2. A 1,500-word report on the speech by Georgi Stoilov, "member of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the Union of Bulgarian Architects," focusing on the work of architects. Stoilov calls for a "decisive increase in the ideological-artistic level and creative skill" of Bulgarian architects and for the Union of Bulgarian Architects to assert itself as a self-managing organization.

3. A 1,200-word report on the speech by Mincho Lalev, "secretary of 'Iskra' Cultural Club in Kazanluk," describing the artistic and educational functions of the club and its contribution to expanding the horizons of its members and improving their cultural life.

Western Banks Approve $150 Million Loan

LD2607084588 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 0800 GMT 26 Jul 88

[Text] The Czechoslovak Commercial Bank has announced that the CSSR has received a loan amounting to $150 million from a consortium of Western banks. The consortium comprises 15 West German, Austrian, and Japanese banks headed by Deutsche Bank Luxembourg, which has arranged the loan. Milan Vrskovy, deputy general manager of the Czechoslovak Commercial Bank, said that the loan is intended to ensure that the tasks set in the state plan for the current year are implemented. Both the monetary and currency plans envision the use of the loan. The conditions under which the CSSR has received the loan are exceptionally advantageous and confirm that the CSSR continues to enjoy the position of a reliable partner on Western capital markets.

CC Presidium Issues Statement on Pact Session

AU2507134288 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Jul 88 p 1

["Standpoint of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and the CSSR Government on the Results of the Session of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact Member States"]

[Text] Prague—The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and the CSSR Government discussed the report on the results of the session of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact member states held in Warsaw on 15 and 16 July. They approved the work of the Czechoslovak delegation headed by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, including the adoption of the documents of the session. They fully identified with the joint standpoint of the allied countries on major international issues, as well as with the tasks determined at the session.

They noted the decisive influence of the socialist countries, realistic political circles, and broad world public on the strengthening of favorable trends in international life. They affirmed their support for the peace efforts of the Soviet Union, which are oriented, above all, toward achieving further concrete agreements in the sphere of nuclear disarmament. They supported the determination of all Warsaw Pact states, expressed in the adopted documents, to continue to do everything within their power to bring about the further development of positive processes in Europe and in the world, to strengthen peace and security, and create an atmosphere of trust, dialogue, and cooperation.

The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and the CSSR Government underscored, in particular, the importance of the Statement of the Warsaw Pact Member States on the Negotiations on the Reduction of Armed Forces and Conventional Armaments in Europe. This statement is based on documents adopted at the sessions of the Political Consultative Committee in Budapest (1986) and in Berlin (1987), which provide and give concrete form to a concept and practical directions for future talks on this problem. In this connection they favored an early conclusion of the Vienna follow-up meeting with the adoption of an extensive and balanced document that would pave the way for starting talks on disarmament on the continent already this year.

They valued the attention paid by the session of the Political Consultative Committee to the issues of ecological safety and environmental protection. The solution of ecological problems is closely connected with the strengthening of peace, international security, and disarmament. They described collective cooperation of all countries of the continent in ensuring the protection of the environment in Europe and in its individual regions as being highly topical.

They affirmed that Czechoslovakia will continue to play an active part in deepening the coordinated foreign-political activity of the Warsaw Pact states, and in strengthening the unity and cohesion of the socialist community. Czechoslovakia will continue to develop relations and cooperation with European and other countries and, in the spirit of the new political thinking, to contribute its share to improving the international climate and strengthening peace. We regard the Czechoslovak initiative aimed at creating a zone of trust, cooperation, and good neighborly relations along the line of contact between the Warsaw Pact and NATO states, which enjoys the full support of our allies, as a concrete contribution to this peace policy.

The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and the CSSR Government instructed the appropriate party and state bodies to itemize the adopted conclusions of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee and ensure that they are consistently realized in the corresponding spheres.

Leaders Congratulate Poland on National Day

AU2507152988 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Jul 88 p 1

[CTK report: "Congratulations to Poland"]

[Text] Prague—Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee; CSSR President Gustav Husak; and CSSR Premier Lubomir Strougal, have sent Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, and Zbigniew Messner, chairman of the PPR Council of Ministers, a congratulatory telegram on their country's national day, which states:

Esteemed comrades, on the occasion of your country's national day, we are sending to you, to the PZPR Central Committee, the PPR State Council and the Council of Ministers, and to all Polish people comradely greetings

and cordial congratulations on behalf of the CPCZ Central Committee, the Government and people of the CSSR, and on our own behalf.

The victorious advance of the Soviet Army, together with the culmination of the national liberation struggle of the Polish people, 44 years ago led to Poland's liberation from fascist bondage and to the founding of the PPR. In the years of building socialism, the working people, under the leadership of the PZPR and in close cooperation with the socialist states, carried out important social and economic changes in all spheres of the country.

The present revolutionary period, which has given birth to new thinking and has confronted us with joint tasks, whose importance is truly revolutionary, has opened up broad scope and great possibilities for the further development of our fraternal relations, founded on principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism. Conditions are being created for the expansion and intensification of both our traditionally extensive and comprehensive cooperation, and the multilateral collaboration within the framework of CEMA, for adopting more advanced forms of this and eliminating obstacles that prevent the rapid development of socialist integration.

In the current more favorable international atmosphere, after the ratification of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, the Polish plan for reducing armaments and increasing trust in central Europe is becoming very important—the plan which, hand in hand with the Czechoslovak proposal to establish a zone of trust and cooperation along the line of contact between the Warsaw Pact and NATO states, and together with the far-reaching peace proposals of the USSR and the other socialist countries, aims at ensuring the irreversibility of the process of detente and disarmament which has begun.

Dear comrades, from the bottom of our hearts we wish you, the PZPR, and all Polish working people many further successes in building socialist society in your country, in the struggle for peace, socialism, and social progress in the world. field, build a new European house and bring into practice the new way of thinking. [end recording]

Chnoupek Discusses Foreign Policy, Disarmament

AU2607085888 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Jul 88 p 2

["Government Members Before the Television Camera; Focus on Europe's Future; Bohuslav Chnoupek, CSSR Minister of Foreign Affairs, Speaks"]

[Text] Bohuslav Chnoupek, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, spoke about the tasks of the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs and about Czechoslovak foreign policy in general on Czechoslovak Television on Thursday [21 July]. The following is a substantial excerpt from his speech:

For openers he said that the priorities of Czechoslovak foreign policy are given by past congresses and, in particular, by the 17th congress of our party. This means that we must ensure optimal conditions for the peaceful and tranquil life of our people and for building socialism. This will be achieved by developing friendship and broad cooperation with the socialist countries and, above all, with the Soviet Union; extensively cooperating with the developing countries; supporting national liberation movements; broadly cooperating with the Non-aligned Movement; and collaborating with developed capitalist states on the principle of peaceful coexistence.

Minister Chnoupek stressed that these tasks have considerably changed in the past 3 years in quality and content; not so much regarding priorities, but, mostly, how they are now perceived in practice. Let us take, for example, one important issue—the cooperation of the socialist countries. Truly important changes have occurred in these relationships, especially concerning the atmosphere in which this cooperation is being realized. Mutually informing one another, absolute openness, trust, and sincerity have become the pillars of this cooperation. The collectively coordinated foreign policy is being formulated in such an atmosphere.

He stressed that the changes, for example, have become apparent during the sessions of the Political Consultative Committee; of the Committee of Ministers of Foreign Affairs; and of the ministers of defense. Frank discussion, seeking new variables and alternatives, which might have been depicted as heretical in the past, are the typical features of these deliberations. This also applies to the recent Warsaw Pact session in Warsaw. There we concentrated attention mainly on European trends, and particularly on the future. We told ourselves that after what has been achieved in the sphere of foreign policy, that is, reducing the danger of the outbreak of a global conflict, reducing confrontation, and after creating a more favorable atmosphere for cooperation and for the first steps in the sphere of nuclear disarmament, it is necessary to turn one's attention to another priority—conventional disarmament. Why? Because the technology of conventional weapons has reached a level of destructive power which, in some cases, is equal to the nuclear threat. Regarding the stockpiles of conventional weapons in Europe, there is no historical precedent to the existing situation. We, in Europe, are truly sitting on a keg of gunpowder. The two pacts have more than 5 million troops, more than 60,000 tanks, and more than 6,000 aircraft here. Therefore, 2 years ago in Budapest, we called on the NATO countries to begin resolving this issue.

Warsaw voiced a very clear view on this. It proposed publishing data on the strength of the armed forces and on armaments and then letting the military officials sit down and compare them. Should they ascertain asymmetry, let us reduce this or that sphere to the lower level. In the West, they are telling us that we have more tanks and artillery in central Europe than does the West. We

are not saying that this is not so. But, at the same time, we are saying, for example, that on NATO's southern flank NATO has superiority in conventional weapons. Therefore, these issues must be examined in a regional context. As soon as asymmetries become equal, we propose carrying out a radical reduction—by 500,000 men on each side—and then taking further steps to ensure peace.

We have witnessed many initiatives in recent years. When we consider only the most important ones, then there has been more than a dozen of them. Together with the lesser initiatives the figure is more than 40. The Czechoslovak proposal submitted by Comrade Jakes in February is unique in that it does not concern only the military aspect, that is, establishing a zone of trust, cooperation, and good neighborliness, but that it also perceives the establishment of this zone comprehensively. That means, in addition to the military sphere, it also concerns the political, economic, humanitarian, and cultural spheres. Thus, in that sense, this proposal is in harmony with the Helsinki Final Act and it is a part of the all-European process, which is the most interesting aspect for the Western partners.

For example, regarding the humanitarian sphere, our proposal speaks about facilitating contacts among people, opening border crossings, simplifying the exit procedures, establishing contacts of friendship between partners in that zone, between countries, between districts. On the economy, the proposal speaks about establishing free trade zones free of customs duties and in respect to transportation about Czechoslovakia being connected to the highway network. It speaks about youth tourism, about contacts among young people, in the cultural sphere about direct contacts between cultural institutions, and so forth.

Thus far, the NATO countries have not responded, but we assume that, as always, their answer will be collective. Regarding the final touches of the document, we are willing to discuss any sensible and mutually advantageous proposal.

In conclusion the minister said that in addition to attending many international forums, our representations abroad, of which there are more than 100, are very active. Regarding the restructuring of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, we are working on it. Therefore, the staff of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is being reduced by 30 percent. This is a very distressing process because it concerns the staffers' existence, but we are resolving it in a humane and civilized manner. The same concerns costs, which will also drop 30 percent, B. Chnoupek concluded.

Enemies of Reform Instigate Caucasus Conflict

AU2507131188 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 22 Jul 88 p 7

[V. Jancura Moscow dispatch: "Dropping Their Masks; Who Profits by Events in and Around Nagorno-Karabakh"]

[Text] I believe that most uninformed people were rather surprised by the results of the Monday [18 July] session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. Many of them expected the Presidium to adopt far more radical decisions (radical as they understand the term, more often than not in the sense of hatchet work), in the belief that the happiest solution is to cut the Gordian Knot of problems. At the same time they regard directives and administrative measures as the only effective method, almost as the only method capable of bringing salvation.

In this way, some people expected the Presidium to agree to an immediate merging of Nagorno-Karabakh with the Armenian SR. Other people expected the complete opposite: the instruction to suppress (most emphatically, and by using power instruments) all expressions of dissatisfaction with its present status. Nobody seemed to give much thought to the fact that both actions would have seriously violated the law (including the Basic Law, i.e. the Constitution). Obviously it did not even enter their minds that both steps would have been undemocratic.

To proceed radically means (in the spirit of Marxist-Leninist methodology) to go to the roots of the matter. And this is precisely the approach shown by the Monday [18 July] session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. Moreover, and this is most important, this approach was shown publicly. For 2 ½ hours the whole country was able to follow how the hotbed from which the problem (with its tangle of manifold aspects and diverse, often opposed, interests) germinates was being laid bare.

The television screens showed what at times became almost a dispute, a polemic which not only reflected the dialectics of existing objective antagonisms, but also indicated the path toward truth, toward overcoming them.

Probably none of the spectators of this discussion remained indifferent. Even the radically inclined part of the audience had to feel how doubts began to invade their minds. It is becoming apparent that things are not as we originally imagined them, that everything is far more complicated, and that to "cut the knot" in this instance would mean to end up in a blind alley. The way out of the situation is promised only by a compromise solution—by the constructive cooperation of all sides involved in the conflict, by the gradual (but consistent!) implementation of a whole set of political, economic, social, legal, and other measures.

Reports from Yerevan, Baku, and Stepanakert testified already on Tuesday [19 July] that a number of the main actors in local strikes, demonstrations, and other protest actions have already begun to doubt whether their attitudes, their behavior was right. It is only natural that people cannot come to their senses immediately, or to the same extent. It is far easier to produce mass psychosis or emotional contamination than to cure them. This is all the more true in situations which affect national feelings (the psychologists say that, like love, these feelings are most vulnerable....)

The hottest heads will probably need a proper cold shower. That is also why the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolution also envisages "shock therapy"—particularly with regard to obvious extremists and provocateurs.

The actors are beginning to doubt their role; but what about the scriptwriters and directors of the tragedy in Sumgait, of the dramatic events in Stepanakert, Yerevan, and other places in the Transcaucasian region? They are probably in a panic. Because, in fact, their plans to undermine restructuring and to fan a kind of "spiritual Chernobyl" in Nagorno-Karabakh, which would be followed by a chain reaction of similar explosions of mass dissatisfaction, are about to miscarry.

And particularly their main intention is not turning out well—the intention to distract from their own evil activities, from the egotistic interests of their corrupt clans, by means of such conflicts. It is certainly no coincidence that this was repeatedly emphasized in statements made by M.S. Gorbachev and other participants in the Presidium session of the Soviet parliament.

The organizers of anti-restructuring forces—all those who dislike the development of democracy and the consolidation of legality, since these deprive them of their unjustified prerogatives, unearned incomes, and power positions which must not be criticized—are losing their masks.

However, the working man can be misled only temporarily. The eyes of deluded Armenians and Azerbaijanis are being opened, and they are beginning to recognize their true enemies....

Crisis Used to Shield Corruption

AU2507163888 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Jul 88 p 6

[Lubor Kazda reply to F.M. from Melnik in the "Replying to a Reader's Query" column: "Nagorno-Karabakh"—passages in boldface as published]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] The causes of the present conflict do not lie in the region's complicated historical past alone. As PRAVDA pointed out some time ago, since 1923 the Karabakh problem has come up **on several occasions**, as a rule whenever the responsible Armenian and Azerbaijani figures deemed it advantageous to distract attention from various shortcomings in the life of these two republics. Mikhail Gorbachev's statement at the Monday [18 July] Supreme Soviet Presidium session clearly showed that the same thing is happening again.

It must be said that quite a few economic, political, and moral problems have accumulated in the region—particularly in Armenia, but also in Azerbaijan. It is there that the so-called shadow economy particularly flourished and cronyism became rampant throughout the republican management apparatus. The social changes brought about by restructuring have cast an intransigent light on these practices. [passage omitted]

Frankly, the nationalist abuse of the Karabakh issue as an artificial detonator (meant to cover up the shortcomings mentioned above) was considerably facilitated by the serious socioeconomic, but also by the nationality problems in the life of Nagorno-Karabakh; they were due to the violations of the principles of Leninist nationality policy by the Azerbaijan leadership and to its insensitive treatment of the Armenian majority in the autonomous republic (in fact, even the normal distribution of Armenian textbooks for Karabakh was hampered).

The protracted Karabakh problem gradually became extremely dangerous and harmful because it activated the nationalist and extremist forces. [passage omitted] The nationalist campaign that was unleashed escalated the tension and evoked a kind of mass hysteria; finally all common sense gave way to the uncontrollable emotions. In spring 1988 the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers adopted far-reaching measures for solving the socioeconomic and national-cultural problems in Nagorno-Karabakh (including the decision to renew natural cultural links between Karabakh and Armenia). Despite this the demand to separate Karabakh from Azerbaijan was reiterated. The continuing, senseless, pressure-applying strikes and demonstrations in Stepanakert (capital of Nagorno-Karabakh) and Yerevan, and such hooliganism as the blocking of Zvartnots Airport near Yerevan (evoked by nationalists from among the Armenians), have confirmed that behind all these actions stand elements which regard the renewal of order and normal life and the enforcement of positive transformations of restructuring as a direct threat to the interests of various clans, as was described in detail by Mikhail Gorbachev on Monday to the Supreme Soviet Presidium. Likewise, both in Armenia and in Karabakh the party organization's ability to act is (to a certain extent) paralyzed by nationalist passions.

The artificially exacerbated crisis around Nagorno-Karabakh has caused the entire society considerable damage—not merely material damage, but above all, moral and political damage. From the objective viewpoint, the crisis directly hampers and damages the restructuring process. [passage omitted]

At present, both the Armenian and Azerbaijan party leaderships, and the leaderships of the two republics obviously carry an immense responsibility, both toward their own peoples and the peoples throughout the USSR. They will have to learn many a self-critical lesson. After that, their main task will be to see to it that the crisis and its consequences are overcome, that normal life is resumed, and a normal, healthy atmosphere restored in both republics. The interests of restructuring, the objective interests of all Soviet people, demand this.

Verifiability of Missile Elimination Asserted

AU2607100288 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 Jul 88 p 3

[Jan Kovarik article in the "Replying to a Reader" column: "Can One Not Conceal Things From Inspectors?"—boldface passages as published]

[Text] Can one not conceal things from the inspectors? This is basically what one of our readers meant when he telephoned the editorial office on Friday [22 July] in connection with the reported inspection of a former Soviet missile base in Hranice, Moravia, by a group of American soldiers. The reader specifically asked whether this form of international verification is effective, since we know that intermediate- and shorter-range missiles are also mobile (that is, they can be moved place to place, outside the base); for instance, they can be concealed in some valley since the inspectors check only facilities in closed military areas. In other words: What happens if these mobile missiles are actually moved outside the military area?

This is not the first time RUDE PRAVO has replied to such a question on its pages. However, there is nothing harmful about repetition. First of all let us recall that, apart from nuclear missiles (that means missiles with nuclear payloads), there are also missiles with conventional (non-nuclear) explosives. Such missiles are not covered by the Soviet-American treaty; and as for nuclear missiles, both the USSR and the United States have exchanged complete numerical and qualitative data on them, including information about the places where these missiles are being produced, stored, and deployed. The so-called national means of technical verification hold an important place in the verification process (this is particularly true of American and Soviet satellites, since for them it is no problem to "count" from outer space not only the deployed missiles, but even tanks). The data exchange was carried out under the conditions of mutual trust on both sides, with the awareness that the other side could verify the data via satellite. The ground inspection just carried out here, in the military installation in Hranice, Moravia, was merely a **supplementary** verification of the data supplied by the other side. This form of inspection is based on the fact that it is impossible to conceal a missile (or several missiles) "for instance in valleys," as our reader believes.

Both Soviet and American inspectors can therefore concentrate on inspections to verify the initial data, which begins 30 days after the Soviet-American treaty becomes valid and ends 90 days after this date at the latest. These inspections are currently underway in the United States and the USSR, as well as in Great Britain, the FRG, CSSR, and GDR. **Its purpose is to confirm that the missile operation bases and auxiliary installations have been eliminated.** At the same time the inspections will be carried out for a period of 3 years.

Another form of verification is to check whether missiles are not being produced. In the USSR and U.S. production works this is done via permanent observation. **Inspections in places where the missiles are eliminated, at launching installations, and in auxiliary facilities** is yet another form of verification; and, finally, there are also **inspections on the basis of quotas**, which will be carried out for 13 years at all missile operation bases and in all auxiliary facilities.

As we can see, none of the existing nuclear missiles can evade inspection. Let us repeat that **a nuclear missile cannot be concealed from space-age technical devices, and that its removal to some other area cannot avoid being noticed. Both sides had convinced themselves of this when preparing the treaty.** As for the missiles deployed in the CSSR, they have been withdrawn from our territory under U.S. satellite observation. Next they will be subjected to the American ground inspection, and later also to inspection **in the place of their elimination** in the USSR.

Criticism of Danube Hydroelectric Plan Dismissed

AU2207115988 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 20 Jul 88 p 7

[Gejza Vilcek article: "Naive Questions About the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros Project; How Is Incomprehension Born?"]

[Text] Budapest (Our permanent staff journalist)—For a long time now I have been wondering where all these obscurities about the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros hydroelectric scheme have suddenly appeared from, wondering how such naive questions as those which the Hungarian public has recently been asking can be asked about matters that have long been resolved. At first I tried to explain this to myself by the fact that I occasionally spend my annual vacation at Slapy reservoir, and sometimes at Orava reservoir, that I am prejudiced because, as a member of the youth union, I helped to build both Slapy and Nosice dams.

However, things have increasingly been acquiring the nature of serious resistance to the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros project; there was even a demonstration against it in Budapest. Then there was a deputy in the parliament who demanded a halt to the work in the Hungarian sector. Environmentalists are raising their voices, and there are people who enumerate unclear particulars

about the project being too expensive, something which the country, allegedly, cannot afford right now. Later it transpired that some people see in this unique joint Czechoslovak-Hungarian hydroelectric scheme a "monster born out of Stalinist gigantomania."

The Hungarian press has recently clarified these barely comprehensible views. The government daily MAGYAR HIRLAP published the full text of an "appeal" by Professor Bela Liptak, who, despite his typically Slovak name, teaches at Yale University in the United States and is the chairman of the foundation of Hungarian environmentalists in America. He also sent his 26 points to the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic. In these points he vehemently protests against the project—on the basis, however, of inaccurate data, to put it mildly. His conclusions are a gross insult to the Hungarian—and also to our—water economy experts, when he casts doubt on their more than 10 years of scientific research into the influences of the Danube hydroelectric scheme, on their accurate calculations of the hydrological, ecological, economic, transportation, energy and, last but not least, antiflood and seismic aspects of the project. MAGYAR HIRLAP attached to the 26 points raised by B. Liptak 26 answers by Hungarian experts. These showed that not a single one of Liptak's points can be upheld. The Hungarian Hydrology Society invited B. Liptak to visit the project and showed it to him. In vain. He believed neither the calculations nor the evidence before his own eyes. The water economy experts were flabbergasted by how poorly informed the American professor was. He dismissed all expert explanations with the words: "This is uninteresting...." He even declared that his foundation of Hungarian environmentalists in America is planning further protest actions in front of banks and Hungarian embassies....

These are no longer mistakes, there is something else in play here, a commentary in yesterday's [19 July] MAGYAR HIRLAP notes. The paper is right; after all, in the seemingly naive questions and doubts which resound in the campaign against the Danube hydroelectric scheme, one can clearly hear exactly the same questions as those asked by B. Liptak from thousands of kilometers away.

Since the parliament will discuss the issue of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros project in the fall, the Hungarian National Assembly gave deputies the opportunity to visit not only that project, but also Austrian hydroelectric schemes which have already been completed and are in operation. After the visit even the deputy who had demanded a halt to the project began to realize the importance of the project as an antiflood measure and in improving the navigability of the Danube. Another deputy, Gyula Szalay, told a NEPSZABADSAG correspondent: "The project must be completed on the Hungarian side as soon as possible. To those who criticize the project 'from outside,' I would like to say the following: We who live at home here love our fatherland at least as much as those who left it. And we will make our decision accordingly."

Petition Demands Release of Samizdat Distributor
LD2207224488 Vatican City International Service in Slovak 1745 GMT 22 Jul 88

["Text" of petition to President Gustav Husak from Slovak citizens, date not given]

[Text] A petition signed by 3,968 Slovak citizens has been addressed to President Gustav Husak. The petition says:

Esteemed Mr President.

On 17 June 1988 the regional court in Banska Bystrica sentenced Ivan Polansky, from Nova Dubnica, to 4 years in prison for the alleged crime of subversion against the Republic. He allegedly committed this crime by duplicating several samizdat publications.

The sentence, which has not yet come into effect, and the conduct preceding it make us indignant. The indictment contained sweeping accusations without a single specific point. It quoted samizdat titles and the names of foreign broadcasting stations that used the samizdat items in some bulletins. The indictment concluded from this that subversion against the Republic had taken place.

Such a charge makes no distinction between the permitted, even protected, spread of information and possible criminal propaganda. The regional court's trial was marked by the same spirit. The court did not acquaint anybody with the samizdat items for which Ivan Polansky was tried. If it did, it would have had to admit in public that they were mostly concerned with religious topics.

Insofar as the samizdat items contained articles about events in the CSSR, the court did not question their truthfulness at all. A considerable part of the material expressed views on the controversial issues regarding relations between the state and the church in the CSSR. Shortcomings in these relations are publicly admitted now and are being partially rectified. This led to the discontinuation of the petition for a change in the relations between the state and church, which was signed by more than ½ million Czechoslovak citizens.

Ivan Polansky simply duplicated information about specific blunders in relations between the state and the church contained in the petition, and the prosecution calls this subversion against the Republic. Two volumes were about the personalities and work of Andrej Hlinka and Dr Jozef Tisa. For how long will interest in these two personalities of Slovak history be connected with the risk of criminal prosecution? Such a risk can only enhance interest in them. Furthermore, Andrej Hlinka is actually one of the founders of this Republic.

The Czechoslovak press continually calls for new thinking, even for the restructuring of social relations. The trial of Ivan Polansky is a sign of the old way of thinking.

As long as trials like this take place in the CSSR, no restructuring is possible. The Republic would actually become stronger if open discussion of public problems were posible because only in such discussions can the truth be found and the way to the future revealed.

The Constitution gives you the right to order the judicial organs to halt these criminal proceedings. We ask you to use this right in the case of Ivan Polansky. You, yourself, have experienced in your own life how relative are sentences in political trials and how often justice is ashamed of them later. The trial of Polansky does not evoke respect for the law and justice in our Republic.

Catholic Activist Sees Loosening of Restrictions

AU2507134888 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 23-24 Jul 88 p 2

[Text] Bratislava (Kathpress)—Jan Carnogursky, Slovak Catholic activist and attorney, has recently seen indications of a certain improvement of the situation of Christians in the CSSR. In this context, he mentioned alleviations regarding the enrollment of pupils for religious classes (this can now be done directly with a priest) as well as permission to increase the circulation of the church newspaper KATOLICKE NOVINY.

The Zips diocesan administrator, Stefan Garaj, said that the authorities have increased the number of candidates who are allowed to enter the Bratislava seminary for Roman Catholic priests to 80—a figure that represents a "record." Garaj explains these "changes in religious life in Slovokia" with the greater self-confidence and intensified commitment of Catholic laymen.

Restructuring in 1989 Economic Plan Discussed

LD2507140788 Prague CTK in English 1300 GMT 25 Jul 88

[Text] Prague July 25 (CTK)—"The 1989 plan is the so far most marked step in the restructuring of the economic mechanism in Czechoslovakia. It will be technically, economically and socially extraordinarily exacting, as it has resulted from the revision of earlier conceptions and will be implemented in new conditions," Vaclav Vertelar told journalists today.

Vaclav Vertelar, first deputy chairman of the Czechoslovak State Planning Commission, said that the 1989 plan, approved by the Federal Government last week, provides for the gross national income to rise by 2.2 per cent as compared with this year—the 1986-1990 Five-Year Plan envisaged a growth of 3.5 per cent every year and this year's increase is expected to amount to some 2.8 per cent. The deficit caused by lower creation of the national income will reach 35,000 million crowns in the 1986-1988 period.

"Its economic potential makes it possible for Czechoslovakia to achieve the originally envisaged dynamic development, but preparation for coping with these goals was insufficient," he said.

Vaclav Vertelar said that production has not been intensified, disproportions in the national economy have not been eliminated and the share of investments was too high. "In contrast to the 1986-1988 period, qualitative indicators are to be improved next year to bring them closer to the intentions of the five-year plan."

He listed new elements in the plan—new wholesale prices will come into effect on January 1, 1989, the home trade and the agriculture-food complex will operate under the new conditions of management, and new state enterprises will be founded.

Under the new conception, the federal government has reduced the number of indicators for lower bodies of management from 700 to 209 and the list of government-watched projects has dropped from 100 to 40. New investments will be lower by 8,000 million crowns. Imports of machinery and equipment from capitalist countries will be doubled against the previous period. The imported machines will have to be used with increased effectiveness in view of Czechoslovakia's debt of 13,000 million crowns.

Report on 21 Jul CPCZ CC Presidium Session

AU2507101288 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Jul 88 p 1

["Report on Session of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium"]

[Text] Prague—At its meeting on Thursday [21 July] the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium discussed a report on the course and results of the regular session of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact member states and, together with the CSSR Government, adopted a standpoint which is being published separately.

The Presidium dealt in detail with the draft implementation state plan for national economic development in 1989, the orientation of the 1990 draft state plan, and the draft of the CSSR fiscal plan for 1989. It noted that the adequate creation of resources is the prerequisite for ensuring the tasks determined by the [17th CPCZ] Congress in the sphere of the standard of living. Only in this way can one assure a rise in the standard of living. In general, the Presidium regards the draft of the 1989 state plan in a number of sectors as open-ended. It stressed that the difficulty and complexity of the problems in the coming period require an active approach from all economic and central organizations. This is also underscored by the fact that a number of new elements of the economic mechanism will gradually be implemented in

1989. When breaking down the parts of the plan, therefore, exceptional importance is attached to close cooperation between the central bodies and enterprises with the aim of ensuring the fulfillment of tasks better than in the previous years of the current Eighth 5-Year Plan. The Presidium instructed Communists in the CSSR Government and in the CSR and SSR Governments to speedily resolve issues that have been opened and adopt specific practical measures in that respect. It put stress on mobilizing collectives of economic organizations, especially in the preproduction stages, on increasing innovatory activities, on economizing, and—in particular—on supplying the domestic market with the necessary range of products, and on the modernization of the processing industry.

The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium also discussed a report of the CPCZ Central Control and Auditing Commission on the results of the review of how Communist ranking personnel and party organizations in the former CSSR Ministry of Transportation and in selected organizations are fulfilling the conclusions of the 17th CPCZ Congress from the viewpoint of the regularity and economy of railroad transportation, strengthening discipline and order in satisfying the needs of both the national economy and the general public, and how they are fulfilling the measures of the minister and the all-enterprise CPCZ committee of the CSSR Ministry of Transportation and Communications. The results of the review showed that the situation in railroad transportation is not improving, that the basic tasks are not being fulfilled. The standard of travel services, that is, the quality of services, the cleanliness of railroad carriages and railroad stations, remains low. Freight transport services are coping with the transportation of material, but the quality of services is also low, especially as regards speed and regularity. By failing to fulfill deliveries of transportation means, spare parts, materials, and machinery, it is, above all, the organizations of the Ministry of Metallurgy, Engineering, and Electrotechnical Industry that are to blame for the low standard and quality of passenger and freight transportation. The party bodies and organizations have not been properly implementing their right of supervision, and they have shown a certain tolerance and inadequate criticism toward ranking economic personnel.

The Presidium stressed that the situation in railroad transport could be improved if the ministry made a concerted effort, and, in particular, it could be improved by raising the standard of work of Communists in the leading bodies of the Federal Ministry of Transportation and Communications, and those central bodies that participate in the development of rail transport. In order to improve the situation, the Presidium entrusted Communists in the Federal Government and the appropriate CPCZ Central Committee department with a number of concrete tasks.

The Presidium acquainted itself with measures aimed at separating the money supply [emisni] and credit-trading activity of the banking system and with the regulations governing the issue of credits [uverova emise] by the Czechoslovak State Bank.

The session discussed an analysis of a study resulting from dealing with complaints, notifications, and suggestions lodged by citizens with CSSR state and economic organizations in 1987. In that connection, the Presidium acknowledged the measures adopted by the Federal Government on the analysis.

The Presidium discussed and approved the course and results of the official friendly visit by Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, to the CSSR at beginning of July 1988. On this occasion it noted that it valued the high level of party and state relations between our states and the active utilization of the stimuli yielded by the processes of restructuring and the implementation of the political and economic reforms in our two countries. The Presidium instructed Communists in the Federal Government to continue to develop economic cooperation, making use of its modern forms, above all direct relations between enterprises, associations, and institutes, including joint ventures, and to bring the work on the concept of bilateral economic and scientific-technical cooperation with the USSR for 15 - 20 years to an early conclusion.

The Presidium discussed and approved the course and results of the friendly working visit by Dumaagiyn Sodnom, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Mongolian People's Republic, to the CSSR between 2 and 4 July. It acknowledged a report on the visit by a group of deputies of the CSSR Federal Assembly, headed by its deputy chairman, Bohuslav Kucera, to the United States between 26 June and 1 July 1988, a report on the course and results of the third UN General Assembly special session on disarmament and on the activity of the Czechoslovak delegation, and discussed some further issues connected with CSSR domestic and foreign policy.

Leaders' Public Appearances 7-13 Jul

AU1507151488 [Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO and PRACE in Czech and Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak from 8 to 14 July report the following appearances of CSSR leaders (source and date of each report is given in parentheses):

Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary; Gustav Husak, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and CSSR president; Lubomir Strougal, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and CSSR premier; Ladislav Adamec, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and premier of the Czech SR; Vasil Bilak, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee; Jan Fojtik, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium; Josef Kempny, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member; Jozef Lenart, member of the Presidium and secretary of

the CPCZ Central Committee; and Frantisek Pitra, CPCZ Central Committee secretary, were among those who attended a reception in honor of the participants in the 44th CEMA session in Prague on 7 July. (RUDE PRAVO 8 Jul)

Milos Jakes presented to Vladimir Blechta, head of a CPCZ Central Committee department, the Order of Victorious February on the occasion of the latter's 65th birthday in Prague on 7 July. (RUDE PRAVO 8 Jul)

Josef Haman, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, attended and addressed a meeting of the Central Bohemian CPCZ Regional Committee in Prague on 7 July. (RUDE PRAVO 8 Jul)

Jan Fojtik presented both to national artist Ivan Skala and Milan Matous, deputy director of the CPCZ Central Committee's Institute of Marxism-Leninism, the Order of Victorious February, in Prague on 8 July. (RUDE PRAVO 9 Jul)

Bohuslav Chnoupek, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, received a delegation of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, which is in the CSSR for political and economic cooperation talks, in Prague on 8 July. (RUDE PRAVO 9 Jul)

Jozef Lenart saw off the SRV delegation which attended the 44th CEMA session at Prague Ruzyne Airport on 9 July. (RUDE PRAVO 11 Jul)

Jan Fojtik attended and addressed a seminar of the "ideological aktiv" of the North Moravian CPCZ Regional Committee in Karvina on 11 July. (RUDE PRAVO 12 Jul)

Vasil Bilak was among those who attended a reception marking Mongolia's national day, in Prague on 11 July. (RUDE PRAVO 12 Jul)

Frantisek Pitra was in chair of a "working consultation" discussing problems in the timber-processing industry, in Bratislava on 11 July. (RUDE PRAVO 12 Jul)

Ignac Janak, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, paid a visit to the editorial office of the party daily PRAVDA on 11 July. (PRAVDA 12 Jul)

Frantisek Pitra toured the West Slovak Galanta district on 12 July. (RUDE PRAVO 13 Jul)

Jan Fojtik attended the opening of two art exhibitions in Prague on 12 July. (RUDE PRAVO 13 Jul)

Ignac Janak paid a visit to the Chorvatsky Grob cooperative farm near Bratislava on 12 July. (RUDE PRAVO 13 Jul)

Miloslav Hruskovic, candidate member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, paid a visit to the construction site of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros hydroelectric scheme on 12 July. (RUDE PRAVO 13 Jul)

Frantisek Pitra attended and addressed a meeting of the West Slovak CPSL Regional Committee in Bratislava on 12 July. (RUDE PRAVO 13 Jul)

Jan Fojtik presented to Zdenek Cermak, chairman of the Federal Press and Information Office, the Order of Victorious February on the occasion of the latter's 60th birthday, in Prague on 13 July. (RUDE PRAVO 14 Jul)

Josef Haman presented Ivan Mirny, director of the Poldi SONP enterprise in Kladno, the Order of Labor on the occasion of the latter's 50th birthday, in Prague on 13 July. (RUDE PRAVO 14 Jul)

Ignac Janak paid a visit to the agricultural research institute in Bucany near Trnava on 13 July. (RUDE PRAVO 14 Jul)

Gustav Husak received Bohuslav Handl, CSSR ambassador to Afghanistan, in Prague on 13 July. (RUDE PRAVO 14 Jul)

Miloslav Hruskovic toured the construction site of the Mochovce nuclear power plant in the Levice district on 13 July. (RUDE PRAVO 14 Jul)

Bohuslav Chnoupek received Uruguayan ambassador Adolfo Linardi Montero in connection with the end of the latter's tour of duty in the CSSR, in Prague on 13 July. (RUDE PRAVO 14 Jul)

Miroslav Zavadil, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Central Trade Union Council, attended a meeting of the Presidium of the Czech Trade Union Council in Prague on 13 July. (PRACE 14 Jul)

Leaders' Public Appearances 14-20 July

AU2207104688 [Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech from 15 to 21 July reports the following appearances of CSSR leaders (date of each report in parentheses):

Ladislav Adamec and Jozef Lenart, members of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium; Frantisek Pitra and Miroslav Zavadil, candidate members of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium; Mikulas Beno, CPCZ Central Committee secretary; and Zdenek Horeni, Vasil Mohorita, Jindrich Polednik, and Miroslav Stepan, members of the CPCZ Central Committee Secretariat were among those at Prague Ruzyne Airport on 14 July to see off a CSSR delegation flying to Warsaw to attend a session of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee. The delegation comprised Milos Jakes,

CPCZ Central Committee general secretary; Gustav Husak, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and CSSR president; Lubomir Strougal, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and CSSR premier; Vasil Bilak, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee; Bohuslav Chnoupek, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, and Army General Milan Vaclavik, CSSR minister of national defense. (15 Jul)

Milos Jakes and Milan Vaclavik attended and addressed a consultation of chiefs of the political bodies of the Czechoslovak People's Army in Prague on 14 July. (15 Jul)

Jan Fojtik, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, attended and addressed a "seminar of the ideological aktiv" of the South Moravian CPCZ Regional Committee in Brno on 14 July. (15 Jul)

Josef Haman, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and leading secretary of the Central Bohemian CPCZ Regional Committee, presented Jindrich Breha, head of the "Department for the Upbringing and Education of the Working People" at the Poldi SONP enterprise in Kladno, the Order of Labor on the occasion of the latter's 50th birthday, in Prague on 14 July. (15 Jul)

Mikulas Beno was among those who welcomed the Jakes-led CSSR delegation upon its return from Warsaw at Prague Ruzyne Airport on 16 July. (18 Jul)

Bohuslav Chnoupek received outgoing Mexican and Egyptian ambassadors Sergio Pitol and 'Umar Gad in connection with the end of their tours of duty in the CSSR, in Prague on 18 July. (19 Jul)

Vasil Bilak received Jiri Kubka, the newly appointed CSSR ambassador to Mexico, in connection with the latter's taking up his post, in Prague on 19 July. (20 Jul)

Karel Hoffmann, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, attended a session of the Presidium of the Central Trade Union Council in Prague on 19 July. (20 Jul)

Bohuslav Chnoupek received Spanish ambassador Carlos de la Fuguera y Jagou in connection with the end of the latter's tour of duty in the CSSR, in Prague on 19 July. The same day, Chnoupek also received Indonesian ambassador H. R. Enap Suratman for an exchange of opinion on the state of CSSR-Indonesian relations and on the international situation. (20 Jul)

Vasil Bilak received Mongolian ambassador Yondongiyn Ochir in connection with the end of the latter's tour of duty in the CSSR, in Prague on 20 July. (21 Jul)

Bohuslav Chnoupek received Peruvian ambassador Igor Velasquez Rodriguez to discuss deepening CSSR-Peruvian relations, in Prague on 20 July. (21 Jul)

Politburo's Lorenz Calls For 'Open Dialogue'
AU2507140288 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 25 Jul 88 p 12

[Unattributed article: "Unusual SED Comments"]

[Text] While the hardliners at the head of the SED ward off glasnost and perestroyka [Russian words used] in the GDR, unusual comments are being made by other members. Addressing the bezirk leadership, Siegfried Lorenz, first secretary of the Karl-Marx-Stadt Bezirk SED leadership, has now admitted that "during these 4 decades of the GDR, not every day has been a victory." In the FREIE PRESSE SED bezirk journal he is quoted as making the following statement: "There can be no taboos when talking politics." The Politburo member also advocates open dialogue. He calls for taking the citizens' proposals seriously, "reacting to their criticism and, together with them, changing what needs to be changed."

Greater Cooperation With Greece Desired
LD2507220488 Hamburg DPA in German 1430 GMT 25 Jul 88

[Text] Athens (DPA)—Greece and the GDR today in a joint communique underscored their desire to deepen friendship and cooperation between the two countries. With satisfaction, they said that their relations have improved considerably over the last years. The communique was released after an official visit to Athens by GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer.

The communique states that during the talks identical or approximate standpoints were noted on important international questions. Both sides welcomed the reciprocal recognition of the EC and the CEMA. Fischer called for an independent, sovereign, territorially-intact, and bloc-free Cyprus and said he is concerned that the Cyprus conflict has not been solved during the last 14 years.

Honecker, Stoph Send Message to PPR Leaders
AU2507154288 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 22 Jul 88 p 1

[ND report: "Linked With the PPR in Firm Friendship; GDR Greetings and Congratulations to Warsaw on the National Day of the Fraternal Country"]

[Text] East Berlin—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, have sent the following telegram to Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the PPR State Council, and Zbigniew Messner, chairman of the PPR Council of Ministers:

Dear comrades:

On the occasion of the 44th anniversary of Poland's rebirth, we convey to you, the PZPR Central Committee, the State Council, the PPR Council of Ministers, and the fraternal Polish people cordial greetings on behalf of the SED Central Committee, the State Council, the Council of Ministers, and the people of the GDR.

The proclamation of the July Manifesto by the Polish Committee of National Liberation 44 years ago introduced a new era in the Polish people's history, which is rich in traditions. By building a socialist Poland, the legacy of generations of Polish revolutionaries and patriots has been fulfilled. In close alliance with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries, the PPR is standing at the forefront of the worldwide struggle for international stability and the peaceful coexistence of peoples.

Increasingly closer links of friendship and overall cooperation have developed between the GDR and the PPR, whose core lies in the trusting relations between the SED and the PZPR. The agreement on the youth friendship system of the GDR and the PPR, which was recently signed, constitutes an important milestone in the worldwide shaping of cooperation between our two neighboring states and peoples.

Rest assured that in the future, too, we will do everything to further develop relations for the benefit of our peoples and to further increase our active cooperation for the creation of a world without nuclear weapons and for a comprehensive system of security and trust.

On your national day, we wholeheartedly wish you, dear comrades, the Communists, and all working people of the fraternal Polish people much success in the further building of socialism in your country.

Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council;

Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers.

Kessler Addresses Pyongyang Meeting
LD2207192488 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1712 GMT 22 Jul 88

[Text] Pyongyang, 22 Jul (ADN)—DPRK Defense Minister Vice Marshal O Chin-u praised the visit of a GDR military delegation to his country as a significant contribution to the deepening of friendship and cooperation between the DPRK and the GDR. The vice marshal, who was speaking at a meeting in Pyongyang today at the conclusion of a visit which lasted for several days, thanked the GDR for its close solidarity with the just struggle of the Korean people for peace and security on the peninsula.

GDR Defense Minister Heinz Kessler stressed that the consistent commitment of the DPRK and the GDR to the implementation of the policies of the socialist countries of Europe and Asia, which are directed toward peace and security, is among those factors which allow a change for the better to be registered in the international arena today.

During the day, the GDR delegation toured the Pyongyang museum of the 1950-53 war for the liberation of the fatherland, and visited a unit of the special troops of the Korean People's Army.

Southern Africa Peace Accord Praised

AU2507174688 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 23-24 Jul 88 p 1

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR regards the "principles for the peaceful solution in the southwest of Africa," which were agreed upon as a result of negotiations between Angola, Cuba, South Africa, and the United States, as important progress which serves the political solution of the conflict in southern Africa, especially the granting of independence to Namibia by implementing UN Security Council Resolution 435/78. This was stated by Ambassador Wolfgang Meyer, spokesman of the GDR Foreign Ministry, to ADN on Friday [22 July].

By continuing the process of negotiations, real chances of peace, security, and development in the southwest of Africa would open up—notwithstanding the serious problems that still exist. This would also have a positive influence on the recovery of the international situation.

More Disarmament Proposed, Threat to West Denied

AU2507175588 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 23-24 Jul 88 p 2

[He. commentary: "What About the So-Called Large-Scale Offensive?"]

[Text] Great international attention is paid to the new initiatives of the Warsaw Pact member states. On Thursday [21 July] Chancellor Kohl declared his government's readiness to react positively to this development. He welcomed the proposal made in Warsaw to start negotiations on conventional stability from the Atlantic to the Urals before 1988. Shortly before that, Government Spokesman Ost had said that Bonn also wants to carefully examine above all the problem of eliminating imbalances in the armed forces and weapons of the two military alliances.

NATO has long clung to these asymmetries—by the way, they exist on both sides. The legend about a threat, the "concern" about a surprise attack by the East with a "large-scale offensive" have been repeatedly fed by allegations of the "stifling" conventional superiority of the East. In this way, the strategy of "deterrence," sticking particularly to tactical nuclear weapons, has been substantiated.

In the final analysis, however, this would make the path toward further disarmament steps more difficult, or even block it. Therefore it should be ended. For nobody threatens the West. Who or what exactly is to be "deterred"? What is the result of a careful examination of the declaration signed in Warsaw on the negotiations on reducing armed forces and conventional arms from the Atlantic to the Urals?

Eliminating the existing imbalances in the individual categories of conventional arms and armed forces on both sides would lead to equal and lower ceilings. After this target has been achieved, the armed forces of NATO and the Warsaw Pact states would be further reduced, that is, by approximately 500,000 men on each side. Finally—in a third stage—they should be reduced once again, that is, to an extent whereby they "do not suffice for a surprise attack and attack operations," as is literally stated in the Warsaw declaration.

In order to safeguard this not only before the end of the process, but from the beginning onward, strips or zones with a reduced arms level should be created along the meeting point of the two alliances. Moreover, all steps would be accompanied by coordinated measures for confidence-building. Data could be exchanged before the beginning of negotiations, precisely in order to ascertain imbalances, and these data could be examined by local inspections from the start of the negotiations onward.

And the tactical nuclear weapons? As is stressed in the Joint Declaration of the SED Central Committee Politburo, the GDR State Council, and the Council of Ministers of the GDR, the allied socialist states "emphatically call for the inclusion of tactical nuclear weapons in the disarmament process in Europe. A quick solution of this problem would contribute to increasing security on the continent, and would considerably strengthen mutual trust in the 'European house.'"

With regard to the negotiations on reducing armed forces and conventional arms, their very course, to say nothing of their results, would definitely render pointless the allegations and "concerns" of NATO that were mentioned at the beginning. If there is a large-scale offensive, it is our new approach toward disarmament and peace, mutual trust and equal security.

Further Reportage on Grosz's Activities in U.S.

Interviewed en Route to California

AU2607072188 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 22 Jul 88 pp 1, 6

[Interview with MSZMP General Secretary and Premier Karoly Grosz by special correspondent Dezso Pinter: "The Premier Comments on Domestic Events"—aboard special airplane between Chicago and Sacramento on 21 July]

[Text] This is the first time in MAGYAR HIRLAP's more than 20-year history that a Hungarian premier has given an interview while aboard a special Boeing-727 en route to California, several thousand kilometers from Hungary. Our correspondent sent us the text of this interview from the airplane while it was somewhere between Chicago and Sacramento.

[Pinter] When a premier and party general secretary takes such a long journey, he continues to receive information from home. How?

[Grosz] MTI material that gets here provides information. In addition, our embassy in Washington is, naturally, in close contact with the Foreign Ministry in Budapest, from which information is continuously being supplied. Today we received precise information on domestic events that took place yesterday.

[Pinter] It seems that your visit to the United States has been followed with great interest in Western Europe.

[Grosz] Yes. When we signed the agreement on the venture between the Guardian Industries and the Glass Factory of Oroshaz at the trade center in Chicago yesterday, we visited the library and the information center. As an attentive gesture, information had been relayed from the Washington center to Chicago in a matter of seconds on the news, information, and analyses published in connection with this visit. According to the information, 433 articles were published in the world press as of 20 July, mostly in Europe and in the United States.

[Pinter] I think this interest will continue because the really big events of this trip are yet to come.

[Grosz] Yes, this is true. The public's political interests here in the United States are currently concerned with issues connected with the presidential elections; this is only natural, since this is an extremely important political event. At the same time, however, we can also say that our visit has been followed with proper attention and great interest. Our program in Chicago was an important one, primarily from the viewpoint of economic cooperation rather than from a political angle. Political issues and issues concerning the relations between the two countries will be discussed during our subsequent meetings.

[Pinter] You are holding an MTI news summary from Budapest. Does this contain news about which you would like to comment?

[Grosz] I read with great interest the information published in Vienna, according to which opponents of the Hungarian regime began a hunger strike in Budapest to protest the turning down of their passport applications. I do not understand the matter clearly, but it is more than likely that this is related to the decision of the Council of Ministers which has recently been shelved. We have missed something during the formulation of the recent passport law, namely that those who were convicted for any reason should not be granted passports. A legal proposal is being put together which will exempt from travel restrictions those who were sentenced for their political behavior in 1956.

We are talking about an interesting legal problem which is connected with a political judgment. According to the current stipulations of the Hungarian law, exemptions can be made for former convicts who applied for a passport and who were released from the travel restrictions by the very same body which formulated these restrictions in the first place. We decided to put this issue on the agenda again within a few weeks in the form of a proposal from the justice minister. We think that the time has come for all those who were convicted for their political behavior in 1956—that is, not for violating public law—to be exempted from this travel restriction, whether they apply for it or not.

The government thinks, and this has clearly emerged during the debates, that, after more than 30 years, a veil should be thrown on the political behavior of those times, because we feel that reality has changed. Therefore, it is reasonable to close this era; and freeing the people from the legal disadvantages of this period is one of the stages on this road, but is not the only one, as this would not be just.

If the aforementioned people protest the fact that we have shelved the issue, this is completely illogical and pointless because the government wants more, and not less than demanded by the strikers. If, however, the issue is that someone did not get a passport or exit permit due to some present behavior, this is another matter, and this should be judged on a case by case basis.

This shows how a premier can and tries to follow domestic events, even from 8,000 or 10,000 km away.

Visits San Francisco

LD2207210388 Budapest MTI in English 1955 GMT 22 Jul 88

[Text] San Francisco/Los Angeles, July 22 (MTI)—Friday morning Karoly Grosz's programme in California continued with a visit to the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce. The HSWP general secretary and prime

minister met another group of senior businessmen of this important economic and business centre and informed them on the possibilities of expanding economic relations.

Karoly Grosz pointed out that the inadequate recognition of innovative spirit and technical development was a cause of the slowdown in Hungary's economic growth. The Hungarian economy isolated itself from the world, and developed relations with the most advanced and most dynamically developing countries at an inadequate pace. We draw the conclusion that if we want the Hungarian economy to develop more dynamically and adapt to the changes more flexibly, we should turn towards markets that set new requirements day by day.

Karoly Grosz underlined that Hungary has the necessary endowments. The country has vast intellectual assets and in certain sciences we are close to the world standard. For instance, the educational level of mathematics, physics and chemistry in Hungary stands comparison with the most advanced countries of the world. Education and practice is also marked by a high standard in certain medical fields and we have well-trained skilled workers. There are, however, shortcomings in organization and a shortage of qualified, flexible and open-minded managers.

Karoly Grosz spoke about plans that promise change. An A-level command of a foreign language will be a precondition of admission to university, and we would like to make it possible for a growing number of post-graduates and full-time students to expand their knowledge in foreign universities. We would also offer an opportunity for skilled workers to gain experience abroad. The idea has been raised that an English-language university centre would be set up in Budapest with foreign and Hungarian students and professors. A manager-training school is being organized in Budapest with U.S. assistance.

Concerning joint ventures and other forms of cooperation, Karoly Grosz said that foreign capital could be involved in the development of prosperous Hungarian companies, and the foreign investors could buy shares, contribute technology and assist with foreign business links. We would welcome if, after the appropriate law is enacted by parliament, foreign investors would even buy all shares of certain Hungarian companies. Appropriate legislation will also make it possible for foreign and Hungarian private entrepreneurs to establish joint ventures.

Such kind of cooperation may be attractive as we are located in central Europe, along the border of two different economic and social structures. Cooperation would open a gate to the huge market of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. "We are calling and awaiting you, seek for the ways of cooperation complying with your own interest. We do not want to ask for aid, we offer cooperation from which all parties would reap profit," the prime minister said.

Karoly Grosz answered some questions by the businessmen and journalists in attendance. He said, for instance, that Hungary would be willing to open a trade representation but the U.S. authorities have not yet consented.

The members of the chamber received the prime minister's report with approval. Thomas W. Tusher, general manager of the Levi Strauss company, expressed his thanks for the information, stressing that he had gained favourable experience in the course of cooperation with Hungary for many years.

As a souvenir, Karoly Grosz was presented with the bell of the cable car, the special tram of San Francisco, and the symbol of the city.

Following the meeting Karoly Grosz and his entourage left for the airport. After a 45-minute flight they arrived in Los Angeles. On the airport they met Armand Hammer, president of Occidental Petroleum. Karoly Grosz and his entourage launched talks with Armand Hammer and the chief executive officials of Occidental Petroleum.

Visits Los Angeles

LD2307102388 Budapest MTI in English 0850 GMT 23 Jul 88

[Text] Los Angeles, July 23 (MTI)—As reported yesterday, Karoly Grosz, HSWP general secretary and prime minister, and his party arrived in Los Angeles. On Friday (late in the evening central European time) he visited the Los Angeles headquarters of Occidental Petroleum. Wearing the ribbon of his Hungarian decoration in his buttonhole, Armand Hammer, the renowned president of the company, personally met Karoly Grosz at the airport.

Karoly Grosz and Armand Hammer held talks of limited attendance at the headquarters of the company, then the American businessman gave a gala lunch in honour of the Hungarian prime minister. Armand Hammer conveyed the message of the mayor of Los Angeles, currently on a visit to China, and as a token of the hospitality of the inhabitants of the city, he symbolically handed over the key of Los Angeles, together with plaque depicting the coat of arms of Los Angeles.

In his toast Armand Hammer spoke on Hungary appreciatively. On the Hungarian economic experiment he said that other socialist countries could also take advantage of reforms. As he said he voiced this opinion also to Mikhail Gorbachev during their latest meeting. 'Hungary is an extraordinary country, he said, I think it can play a significant role in the development of East-West relations.'

In his reply Karoly Grosz called the 90 year old American businessman the great witness of our century, who did not remain a silent observer but also actively took part in shaping the history of mankind. 'His humanism is well established, and his creative energy is enviable,' said among other things the Hungarian prime minister.

Karoly Grosz expounded: We want a socialism which is attractive also for others, which does not enforce its will upon anybody, and which offers a choice for everybody. 'We thought that we can do this only together with the world.' he said.

At a press conference following the meeting Karoly Grosz told journalists that economic issues were discussed at every stop of his American tour, but the concrete agreements are out of his competence. He also discussed these questions with Armand Hammer who said that the Occidental Petroleum is engaged in large-scale oil and gas industry investment projects in the Soviet Union, among others in Tengiz, where Hungarian experts have been working for long. Due to their experience Hungarian contractors are possible to be involved in Occidental Petroleum projects. Studies on the issue are in progress.

Answering questions Karoly Grosz underlined the significance of the fact that Hungarian prime minister has not held talks with leaders of the USA for 42 years. Armand Hammer pointed out that the Hungarian head of government arrived in the USA on the invitation of President Reagan, a fact that also manifests the importance attached to the visit in developing bilateral relations. On the forthcoming talks with President Reagan Karoly Grosz said he wants to know what the President's opinion is on the role of small countries in international cooperation and he also wants to expound the stand of the Hungarian Government on the issue.

Karoly Grosz attended the meeting by the California Council of International Trade and the World Business Council, where the California Council of International Trade and the Hungarian Chamber of Commerce signed an agreement. On Hungary's part the document was signed by Ilona Tatai, member of the Political Committee of the HSWP and vice-president of the Chamber of Commerce.

The agreement stipulates that the two chambers further the development of personal contacts and give information on business opportunities in their countries, as well as they do every thing possible that the competent bodies of the two countries remove the still existing obstacles in the way of cooperation. The document also envisages that the two chambers should contribute to the extension of Hungarian production capacities by means of professional education and the transfer of know-hows. The two chambers want to assist mutual exports and the direct cooperation of companies.

At the signing ceremony Ilona Tatai said that on Hungary's part the necessary conditions will be given, and American businessmen are welcomed to set up joint ventures.

At the gala dinner of the two American business councils Karoly Grosz underlined that the present international atmosphere favours the Hungarian transformation. 'Our efforts are supported whole-heartedly both in the East and the West. We see a confidence towards us and we do not want to abuse this confidence. We believe that we can fulfill what we planned.' he said.

On Saturday morning (local time), the Hungarian prime minister is to visit Disneyland. In the afternoon Karoly Grosz is to leave for New York, where, among other things, he is to meet representatives of the Hungarian emigrants on Sunday.

Economic Pact Signed With California Group

LD2507223188 Budapest MTI in English
1412 GMT 25 Jul 88

[Text] Budapest, July 25, 1988 (MTI-ECONEWS)—A new Hungarian-U.S. economic cooperation agreement was signed in Los Angeles by Mr Ilona Tatai on behalf of the Hungarian Chamber of Commerce and by Mr Jerry Levine for the California Council for International Trade during the current visit of prime minister and HSWP General Secretary Karoly Grosz to the United States.

The American partner, which represents local businesses, will contribute to the modernization of the Hungarian economy and will encourage the opening of an office by the Hungarian Chamber of Commerce in the largest American state.

Under the cooperation deal, the two organizations will carry out a regular exchange of professional and business information, they will arrange meetings and an exchange of professionals.

The California Council will assist the foundation of joint ventures in Hungary. It will participate in the launching of the institute for managerial studies in Budapest in September. Not only will it send visiting professors but it will also shoulder some of the running expenses of the school. It will provide practical opportunities for Hungarians to learn about the American type of managerial work.

The new agreement is believed by the signatories to provide good options for the establishment of cooperation between companies.

Meets Business Leaders in New York

LD2407192688 Budapest MTI in English
1825 GMT 24 Jul 88

[Text] New York, July 24 (MTI)—Sunday afternoon Karoly Grosz, HSWP general secretary and prime minister, met senior American businessmen at the house of George Soros, the renowned financial expert of Hungarian origin, 150 km from New York.

At the talks opportunities for developing cooperation were discussed. George Soros gave a briefing on the Soros foundation, the achievements and further plans.

In the evening central European time, Karoly Grosz attended the meeting for which, on the occasion of the prime ministerial visit, Vencel Hazi, Hungarian ambassador to the USA, had invited the leaders of the associations and churches of the Hungarians living in the USA, and renowned Americans of Hungarian origin.

Sends Message to Emigrants to U.S.

LD2407223388 Budapest MTI in English
2208 GMT 24 Jul 88

[Text] New York, July 24 (MTI)—Sunday evening Karoly Grosz, HSWP general secretary and prime minister, met representatives of the Hungarian emigration in New York. The prime minister also sent a written message to the Hungarians living in the USA.

The message reads:

I am glad to take advantage of my visit to the USA and on behalf of the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic I welcome with respect the American citizens of Hungarian origin.

Nowadays, the old country feels an increasing responsibility for the destiny of the Hungarians who live outside the borders in various countries of the world, who, however, belong to the nation. It also follows with great interest the prosperity of the some 2,000,000 compatriots who settled down in the USA. We are pround if our fellow countrymen meet with honour and respect in their new country.

Hungary intends to foster the feeling of relation with the emigrants, to help preserve the Hungarian language, culture and heritage, and to strengthen the ties between the old country and the Hungarians living abroad. We believe that differing views cannot impede fostering the relations between Hungary and the emigration.

The Hungarian Government appreciates the role the Hungarians living the USA, their associations, and churches have played since the early 20th century in strengthening understanding between the Hungarian and the American peoples and deepening cooperation between the two countries. We are especially grateful for the Americans of Hungarian origin who contributed to returning the Hungarian crown and the coronation regalia to Hungary and to putting Hungarian-U.S. relations on a new fundament.

The improvement in the East-West relations and that of the international atmosphere, as well as the determination of the two countries to further multi-faceted cooperation, provide favourable conditions to extend relations. The Hungarian foreign policy is consistently striving for the establishment of the possible most favourable conditions for the implementation of the socio-economic programme of renewal. In this context the development of Hungarian- U.S. relations is also considered to be important. American political and economic circles show strong interest and sympathy to the domestic policy developments in Hungary and the economic endeavours currently in progress in the country.

Hungary has come to another turn of fortune in its 20th century history. The process of renewal includes the further development of economic reforms as well as the transformation of the political institutions and the assertion of democracy and that of civil rights. This way the socialist Hungary is trying to catch up with the vanguard of world. To reach our objectives we need openness and opening, and a comprehensive system of relations. The Hungarian people intends to take part in the building of an international order based on peace, confidence and fruitful cooperation.

It is in this spirit that we are going to commemorate the forthcoming 950th anniversary of the death of our founder of the state King Stephen 1st, and the 1,100th anniversary of Arpad's conquest of Hungary.

Turning to the world we give our hand to those, including the Hungarians living in the USA and their descendants, who, by fostering and building relations, are prepared to contribute to increase the international respect of Hungary, the development and prosperity of the Hungarian nation.

Meets Groups in New York

LD2507153488 Budapest MTI in English
0915 GMT 25 Jul 88

[Text] New York, July 25 (MTI)—On Sunday Prime Minister Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, met in New York representatives of Hungarian emigration, church and social organizations based in different U.S. towns. He informed them on Hungarian life and problems and plans of the government, and answered questions. At the end of the dialogue, which was twice as long as planned, the prime minister was given a standing ovation.

Following the meeting, Karoly Grosz attended a dinner given in his honour by Edgar Bronfman, president of the World Jewish Congress. At the event, which was also

attended by senior U.S. businessmen, the Hungarian prime minister reconfirmed the new cooperation opportunities and proposed the development of economic links.

On Monday Karoly Grosz is to continue his talks in New York with leading financiers and representatives of American society, including former President Richard Nixon. He is to give a lecture at the influential social oganization of the of the Foreign Policy Council and in the evening hours, according to central European time, he will pay a brief visit to Boston for a meeting with Michael Dukakis, governor of Massachusetts and presidential candidate of the Democratic Party. Late at night (central European time) he will return to New York to attend the dinner given in honour of the Hungarian-U.S. Business Council. [MTI English part two not received]

The introduction of Karoly Grosz was followed by reactions. There was general agreement on the importance of the meeting and the intention of the Hungarian Government and the prime minister to contact emigrant organizations, with whom there were formerly disagreements.

Sandor Puski, New York publisher of Hungarian descent, stated he would like to start a publishing company in Hungary with the intention of participating in Hungary's new intellectual public life, particularly the propagation of Hungarian cultural values abroad. Contributors to the discussion included Laszlo Hamos, secretary of the New York-based Hungarian Human Rights Committee, reformed Bishop Imre Bertalan, Pastor Sandor Haraszti, historian Bela Vardy, professor of medicine Otto Kentler, president of the Semmelweiss Society of Hungarian Physicians in America, and Gyula Apatini, director of a Hungarian language radio programme. The questions covered several themes, such as the possibility of returning the centuries-old reformed College of Sarospatak to the care of the church, judgement of Imre Nagy and the situation of Hungarians in Transylvania. The prime minister answered all questions in great detail.

On the Romanian situation and the issue of Transylvanian ethnic Hungarians, Karoly Grosz pointed out that the Hungarian Government does not consider the planned demolition of villages an explicitly nationality issue, because it affects the Romanian population as well as the Hungarian, Saxonian, and Swabian minorities. "We have clearly formulated our opinion on this issue. I do not think the possible economic advantage of this plan outweighs the damage to national and universal human culture. We have raised our voice not only in defence of the cultural values of the Transylvanian Hungarians, but also in defence of all cultural values, including the Romanian and German nationalities'. "He said the Hungarian Government is trying to create a chance of settlement of disputes and the utilization of ways and means allowed by bilateral relations. "I have offered to go to Romania any time for the clarification of the issue. So far there has been no reaction to our proposal," he said and added that Hungary holds it necessary to repeatedly formulate our position and look for settlement through diplomatic channels.

Karoly Grosz pointed out that Hungary has extremely good relations with the churches. The government considers they might play a part in efforts to resolve social-welfare problems, for which there is readiness on both sides. There is no obstacle to increasing the number of church schools, but the necessary funds are not available for the moment. With funds granted, the Sarospatck College could again be placed under the care of the Reformed Church.

Karoly Grosz also spoke openly about the evaluation of the 1956 events and the role of Imre Nagy. Debating the views of certain emigrant press organs and other organizations, he pointed out that sacrifices were not unilateral. On Imre Nagy, he said the Hungarian Government will not rehabilitate him for his 1956 conduct, because he violated the Constitution and the law. He announced the position of the government that on the request of the family, Imre Nagy's ashes may be given a final resting place, as the government feels itself obliged to do so after 30 years. He said the government will reconsider the situation of people who are now denied a passport because of political acts committed in 1956, and the intention is for them to be relieved of the disadvantageous consequences through modification of the passport laws.

Karoly Grosz expressed his thanks to the U.S.-based Hungarian societies, churches and organizations for fostering the Hungarian culture and language.

In reaction to calls for urgent measures, he stated that it is impossible to simultaneously overcome decades of debts in all areas of the economy, culture and public life. It is not worthwhile to adjust what is outdated, because we have to look forward, he said with reference to the activity of the special work committee set up by the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party for the study of the political lessons from the past decades and the elaboration of a relevant political working programme. The committee is drafting proposals for the next party congress.

Further on New York Meetings

LD2507202988 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 25 Jul 88

[Text] Istvan Sandor reports on Karoly Grosz's busy program in the United States.

[Sandor] Our cameras were not allowed at the first point of the New York program. At a closed meeting organized by George Soros, the cream of New York business life and the members of the Hungarian delegation held talks in groups of two, three, and four people, as far as can be

known not so much about concrete matters but to exchange information and meet. This can be the source of important business decisions later on.

The event of the afternoon awaited with much interest was Karoly Grosz's meeting with leading representatives of Hungarian emigres in the United States. Such a meeting has not been held for 40 years. In his introduction, Karoly Grosz outlined the problems the Hungarian economy is battling and what possibilities for solutions are being worked on by the political leadership. He dealt separately with the role of those who have emigrated.

[Begin Grosz recording] Our place in the world used to be restricted to central Europe. Then it spread to the European continent. We think the time has come for us to build our contacts, calmly but systematically, beyond Europe, in Asia, Africa, and America, too.

In this work of building contacts, we count on the Hungarians who have emigrated from our homeland, who, in our experience, have readily helped us in building contacts. It is my obligation also to tell you that we open our doors to everyone who wants to come to our homeland. Above all, naturally, citizens living abroad who are of Hungarian origin, but not just them, for, according to precise statistical data, more than 20 million foreigners visited the Hungarian People's Republic last year. [end recording]

[Sandor] After this came the questions. There were those who urged the publication in Hungary of Hungarian literature from abroad; others urged the setting up of more church schools, or offered help for medical training in Hungary. They raised the subject of the withdrawal of Soviet troops stationed in Hungary, the rehabilitation of the main protagonist in the events of 1956, and there were many questions concerning the situation of Hungarians in Transylvania, too.

Karoly Grosz in his summarizing reply said the following:

[Begin Grosz recording] The Hungarian People's Republic is conducting not only an open foreign policy, but also an open cultural policy. Everything that is of value is needed in our homeland and also beyond our homeland's frontiers. As to what is of value, I think we will debate much about this. I consider this natural, for, according to our individual experiences and various considerations, we arrange these in order of priority.

I would list first universal human spiritual value, and I undertake to support this. After this, I place all that is of value in our national culture in the past and in the present, all that brings our national endeavors into harmony with general human progress. After this I place all that, beyond this, represents traditional values, such as respect and esteem for creative work, the respect and esteem of people for one another, and a sense of the new. The moral norms have developed over centuries are all values that I can support. I do not list in the category of values political wiles practiced by people with oblique objectives.

Mr (Apati) has asked about foreign troops. If you please, I would demobilize every soldier [applause] I think every filler we devote to the maintenance of the army, renewal of arms, is money thrown out, part of the country's, the nation's, economic development squandered. If we receive guarantees that everyone accepts this, then we shall send every soldier home. However, until this comes about, no matter how painful it is, we shall keep an army. The presence of Soviet troops in Hungary is connected to the way relations in military strength shape up in Europe. I support the proposal of the Soviet foreign minister, that as soon as possible—he also gave a concrete date, as you know—the foreign troops should be taken home from the territory of every country. If this principle is accepted by the partners, the Soviet troops will immediately go home from Hungary, too.

There are many martyrs of'56. To me, the people who were executed at Republic Square are also martyrs. There are also other martyrs. I cannot help it; they were led astray, and they lost their lives in armed fighting. We are sorry. The Hungarian Government will not rehabilitate Imre Nagy for his conduct in 1956. I would not like to leave doubt in anyone, for even a minute, as to our stand. Thirty years have elapsed since the death sentence was carried out. The stand of the government is that if the family requires it, the family can, or, if the family does not require it, the government, will place the ashes [hamvai] of Imre Nagy in their final resting place, in an appropriate manner.

I would like to say that all that is happening in Romania is not directed primarily, and only, at the Magyars. I feel that it is directed also at the Romanians who live there, the Romanians who are affected, the Swabians, Saxons, and the Magyars, too. The abolition of 8,000 villages has been set as a program, for economic considerations, with the justification that this will make 350,000 hectares of land cultivable. This program is not new. It is more than 10 years old. The demolition of the first village has been carried out. We have clearly worded our opinion: I do not believe that carrying out this program will yield as many economic advantages as the damage it causes in the sphere of culture, of national values. We have clearly stated and worded this standpoint of ours to our Romanian neighbors. Therefore, we have raised our voice not only in defense of the cultural traditions of the Magyars living there, but also in defense of all the cultural values, including the Romanian, German, Swabian, Saxon, and Magyar cultural values.

Naturally, I have listened with great attention to the stand that we should make use of mediators to resolve the conflict. If I remember well, I did not say, and I did not preclude the possibility, that perhaps we shall make use of such participation. However, my standpoint is

that as long as we have not done everything within the possibilities of bilateral realtions, we cannot request the participation of others. We have no moral basis for this. For this reason, I have offered that in order to clarify the issue, I am willing to travel to Romania at any time. I would also like to tell you that so far we have not received a response to this proposal of ours. [end recording]

[Sandor] This morning, Ferenc Bartha, president of the national bank, invited the leaders of the biggest U.S. banks to a working breakfast. Ferenc Bartha summed up in the following manner, for the viewers of Newsreel, his exchange of views with the presidents and directors of The First National Bank of Chicago, Chemical Bank of New York, Chase Manhattan, Citicorp and Citibank, and Banker's Trust Company:

[Begin Bartha recording] The leaders of the five biggest banks inquired about the general state of the Hungarian economy, about the prospects, economic prospects of the socialist camp. Properly speaking, the goal was for us to give them the best possible, comprehensive picture. There was no talk now of concrete deals. The fact that the prime minister personally has shed light for them on the basic issues our policy wants to solve and is consistently carrying out has left a very good impression on them. [end recording]

Speaks at New York Dinner

LD2507211088 Budapest MTI in English 1813 GMT 25 Jul 88

[Text] Budapest, July 25 (MTI)—On Monday Karoly Grosz, HSWP General secretary and prime minister, delivered a speech at a dinner of the Council of Foreign Relations in New York under the title 'Hungary of the Road of Reforms: New Possibilities in Cooperation'.

Karoly Grosz recalled that the May conference of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party had reconfirmed the reform policy. It declared that a turn was required in the economic and political fields, in the extention of democracy, and in openness and publicity, and that the renewal of Hungarian socialism necessitated a simultaneous economic and political reform.

The structure, however, should be changed in an unfavourable economic and financial situation. The economic problems which accumulated in the past years and decades have to be settled so that social stability is maintained.

We set the aim that the Hungarian economy be dominated by an enterpreneurial and competitive spirit, economic adaptability and an ability to renewal. We intend to create a socialist, plan-oriented market economy in which the market integrates the economy as a whole, and central, non-economic measures are only taken if the market fails to be a socially effective or acceptable mechanism.

Karoly Grosz held it particularly important for the Hungarian economy to be integrated in the world economy at an accelerating pace. Besides simple commercial relations, this involves cooperation in research, technological development, production and marketing. We hold it indispensable and encourage the foundation of joint ventures and the inclusion of working capital.

As he said, the partnership law to be enacted in Hungary would make it possible for the Hungarian state-owned, cooperative and private capital to be freely combined. It will also make it possible for the Hungarian firms to be tranformed into international public limited companies. In the years to come domestic and foreign private capital is expected to reach a share of 25 per cent in financing Hungary's economic development.

Speaking about the temporary social tensions of the forthcoming ten years, Karoly Grosz pointed out: We wish to safeguard the interests of the working people and simultaneously implemented a technical renewal which inevitably entails sacrifices.

On this score Karoly Grosz spoke about the necessity of reforming the system of political institutions. The political reform has the aims to bring the Constitution in accordance with the current and future requirements, further develop the electoral system, increase the influence of parliament, make the responsibility of the government unambiguous and guarantee its autonomous action by separating the party from the state, and regulate the autonomy of politics and the economy by legal rules, in compliance with the norms of a constitutional state.

We will elaborate a legal framework for expressing the different interests and opinions, and influencing the centers of decision-making directly. Our policy is based on the extension of democracy, tolerance and the freedom of civilized debates, in which the 'dissidents' may also play a role. The limits to the debate are determined by our constitutional order and our laws, Karoly Grosz said.

He emphasized that his recent talks with General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev proved that the logic and direction of the Hungarian and Soviet reforms are practically identical, and the concrete steps of implementation show a growing similarity and, in many cases, identity. Similar processes are taking shape in China, Poland and elsewhere. All this means that we must no longer count with the hindering external effects of the past two decades.

We hold it as favourable that Hungary's reform endeavours are followed with interest and even with sympathy in the West, and we experience readiness on the Western side to contribute to the implementation of our problems by broadening relations and widening cooperation, strictly on the basis of reciprocal advantages.

The improving Soviet-American and East-West relations have increased the scope of action of the small countries including Hungary. Therefore the Hungarian foreign policy seeks to contribute to deepening the current favourable trends in international life and making them irreversible. Stemming from its situation, Hungary has a particular interest in the soonest possible beginning of the reduction of conventional weaponry and forces and in being involved in the first phase of the process of reduction, Karoly Grosz said.

To promote all-European cooperation is a fundamental aim of the Hungarian foreign policy. Karoly Grosz emphasized: Hungary strives to observe the principles and recommendations of the Helsinki Final Act in each field. In the Vienna follow-up conference it advocates the conclusion of an agreement that contributes to the consolidation of security in Europe, the building of confidence in inter-state relations, and the deepening of economic, technical, scientific, environmental, cultural, informational and humanitarian cooperation. Hungary has the same endeavours in its bilateral relations, Karoly Grosz emphasized.

Speaking about the Europe of the future, Karoly Grosz expressed his conviction that the awareness of identity of peoples, nations and national minorities would strengthen in parallel with the process of integration. The stability of frontiers remains an essential condition of security in Europe but it is to be hoped that the dividing role of borders will decrease. Respect for European cultural heritage is to increase. All relics, should they be rural churches or peasant houses, which are demolished today curtail the heritage of the future generations. It is particularly important to respect and protect one another's relics, language and culture, and increase the openness of borders between the neighbouring countries.

In conclusion, Karoly Grosz said that the more favourable international atmosphere and the aforementioned changes in Hungary may encourage the development of Hungarian-U.S. relations. It would be particularly important to make headway in economic, technical and scientific relations. The Hungarian side is prepared to take the interests of the U.S. economic and commercial partners more into account. Karoly Grosz expressed his conviction that despite the differing size of the two countries, the expansion of economic cooperation, and the widening political dialogue, and technical, scientific, cultural and humanitarian relations would serve the benefit of both peoples.

Meets Richard Nixon, Dukakis, Bankers

LD2507212388 Budapest MTI in English
2033 GMT 25 Jul 88

[Text] New York, July 25 (MTI)—On Monday Karoly Grosz, HSWP general secretary and chairman of the Council of Ministers, met the leaders of large U.S. banks in New York. At the invitation of State Secretary Ferenc Bartha, president of the National Bank of Hungary, the meeting was attended by leaders of City Bank, Bankers Trust Company, Chase Manhattan Bank, Chemical Bank and First National Bank. The Hungarian prime minister informed them on Hungary's economic plans, and outlined the possibilities of cooperation between the U.S. banks and the Hungarian economy.

Then Karoly Grosz met Richard Nixon, former president of the United States, in his hotel apartment. Karoly Grosz informed his guest on Hungary's economic and political situation, and the plans of the government. Nixon spoke highly of his visits to Hungary, and appreciated the changes taking place in Hungary and the aims of the reform policy.

After the meeting the former president gave an interview to the correspondents of the Hungarian press, the radio and the television.

Nixon emphasized that the small countries were playing a very important part in international life. 'We are inclined to pay attention only to the present or future superpowers, the United States, the Soviet Union, Japan and China. Due to the courage and initiatives of its leaders, Hungary is able to provide an example that may have a considerable impact on the Soviet Union, China and other countries as well.

Nixon said that he regarded CPSU CC General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev as a very brave and significant politician. 'The main question is whether he implements his reforms with due speed. He needs time and that the West should cooperate with him, he said.

Monday afternoon Karoly Grosz held cordial talks with Leonard Lauders, president of the Lauders Company.

At noon the Council of Foreign Relations gave a lunch of limited attendance in honour of Karoly Grosz. In the lunch attended by senior U.S. public personalities, Karoly Grosz delivered a speech.

Then Karoly Grosz flew to Boston to meet Governor Michael Dukakis of Massachussetts, presidential candidate of the Democratic Party. Returning from Boston, he is to attend the dinner of the Hungarian-U.S. Business Council. During the Boston visit, other members of the delegation saw the New York headquarters of the IBM company, and the World Trade Center.

Meets Dukakis, Kissinger

LD2607084988 Budapest MTI in English
0647 GMT 25 Jul 88

[Text] Budapest, July 26 (MTI)—On Monday Karoly Grosz, HSWP general secretary and prime minister, met Michael Dukakis, governor of Massachusetts and the democratic candidate for President of the United States. Karoly Grosz interrupted his New York visit to fly to Boston in the afternoon where the talks were held at the building of the state legislation. At the cordial meeting

the Hungarian prime minister spoke of the political and economic situation in Hungary, including plans to reform the system of political institutions. Dukakis thanked for the briefing and spoke of his campaign and the tasks he is facing in the time come [as received]. As he said, should he be elected, he would be not only the first president of Greek descent and also the first president whose wife is partly Hungarian: one of Kitty Dukakis' grandparents was Hungarian.

In the afternoon Karoly Grosz returned to New York where he attended the dinner given in his honour by the Hungarian-American Business Council. In his address he stressed the importance of developing business and economic links and appreciated the work of the council. Karoly Grosz pointed out that opportunities are promising for both parties.

Prior to the dinner Karoly Grosz met Henry Kissinger, former U.S. Secretary of State. At the cordial talks Kissinger expounded his views on the development of East-West relations and a wide range of international issues. Among other things he stressed that the European issues should play an important role in the continuation of the Soviet-American dialogue. Karoly Grosz underlined that it is the atmosphere of mistrust that has to be eliminated in Europe and in the East-West relations on the first place, because it impedes further developing relations and tackling important issues.

Karoly Grosz and Henry Kissinger exchanged views on the reform processes currently in progress in Eastern Europe and their impact on the development of East-West relations.

From Tuesday the visit continues in Washington, where the Wednesday talks with President Reagan is on the top of the agenda. The President is to send his own special plane for Karoly Grosz to New York. The plane is to land at the Andrews Air Base, from where Karoly Grosz and his party are to be flown onboard of a helicopter to the center of Washington, the site of the official reception ceremony. The Hungarian prime minister is to be met by a member of the government. The planned series of talks will include a meeting with Allan Greenspan, president of the Federal Reserve Board in the morning. Then a lunch is to be given in honour of Karoly Grosz at the Washington International Press Club and he is to hold talks with George Schultz, secretary of state. Correction to Premier Grosz Visits California

The following correction pertains to the item headlined "Premier Karoly Grosz Visits California," subheaded "Continues Tour," published in the 25 July Eastern Europe DAILY REPORT, page 12:

column two, fourth full paragraph, first sentence ends: ...results of the universal human culture. [new paragraph] Now, we want to make such an economy which stimulates everyone to better performance—pointed out Karoly Grosz who revealed the related ideas including the bill of association law which is to provide opportunity to the foreign operating capital. He also pointed out that for reaching such targets the politics should also change. (providing dropped passage, to create new paragraph)

PLO's Hawatimah Holds News Conference

LD1507224288 Budapest MTI in English 1807 GMT 15 Jul 88

[Text] Budapest, July 15 (MTI)—Nayif Hawatimah, the general secretary of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP) who stays in Hungary at the invitation of the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front, held a press conference in Budapest on Friday.

He said, among others: During the previous meetings at the Central Committee of the HSWP, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the National Council for the Patriotic People's Front he discussed the international politics, Hungarian internal policy issues and Middle East problems.

He emphasized: The Palestine people live in the hottest bed of trouble of the world. On their side they are for the peaceful settlement of the Middle-East crisis. The Palestine people are deprived of their homeland since 40 years, the whole Palestinian territory is under Israeli occupation and it is understandable that among the nations of the Middle-East the Palestinians wish peace the most. For its sake the Palestinians support the calling of an international conference under the UNO with the participation of the five permanent members of the Security Council. At this conference those states which are affected by the Middle-East conflict would participate on equal terms including the Palestinian Liberation Organization as the only legal representative of the Palestine people. Such a peaceful solution is sought which permits for the Palestinians to find a place under the sun and to have self-determination on their own land.

In the past year three strategic steps were taken in the direction of peace. The unity of the Palestinian Liberation Organization was created, on the grounds of such a realistic political programme, which would also solve the Middle-East conflict by international peace conference. In the occupied territories the civil disobedience movement was started and it is in effect for 8 months. Its aim is to get the occupying forces removed from the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and Jerusalem and the accomplishment of self determination and the creation of the independent Palestine state. As a third important element the general secretary mentioned the Algiers summit of the Arab states which had a single point on the agenda: the creation of peace in the Middle-East. At the summit the Arab unity and solidarity was restored which

was missing for the past 10 years due to different internal problems. The decree of the conference claims that the Palestine people have right to represent themselves and to have self-determination—said finally Nayif Hawatimah.

Ethnic Hungarians in Romania Leave for USSR

LD1707132288 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian
1400 GMT 16 Jul 88

[From the "168 Hours" program]

[Text] [Announcer] Gyorgy Dubka, the editor of the Karpati Publishing House, and Sandor Horvath, staff member of KARPATI IGAZ SZO have arrived in Budapest from the Soviet Union, from Sub-Carpathia. Gyorgy Marvanyi has spoken to them here, in the radio studio, about nationality policy. However, within a few minutes the conversation took a very interesting turn. It was said—and this is the first time that we have learned of this—that people are leaving Romania—Transylvania—not only to come to Hungary but also to illegally go to the Soviet Union.

[Begin recording] [Marvanyi] The nationality question is very topical at the moment in the Soviet Union. I am thinking not only of Karabakh and the Baltic states but also that the events taking place there must also influence nationality questions which otherwise would not count as very accute nationality problems in the Soviet Union.

[Dubka or Horvath] A great many positive changes have taken place which have amounted to an advance in the life of the Hungarian nationality in Sub-Carpathia. Thus, for example, seven clubs for literature, cultural activities, and bibliography have been formed. The teaching of Hungarian history will soon be introduced in the Hungarian-language schools.

[Marvanyi] How lively or alive was Hungarian culture in this area before? I gather from what you have said that there was a need for something to develop there.

[Dubka or Horvath] Yes, for years you could see the number of schools and Hungarian classes shrinking. There is a mistaken view which has gained ground among the parents that if they put their children into a Ukrainian or Russian school, then the child will become a minister or some sort of leader. Another negative phenomenon was the marrying of schools, that is, the merging of Hungarian-language and Russian-language schools under a single head, which meant that the Hungarian school found itself in a minority position.

[Marvanyi] I think that the greatest problem is that the Hungarians of Sub-Carpathia lack a special-interest protection organization.

[Dubka or Horvath] A representative body is needed which could concern itself with the situation of Hungarian-language schools and classes. There is now a possibility that this might come about.

Since a great deal has happened in the Soviet Union in general and in Sub-Carpathia in particular to expand the rights of national minorities, for us it was very strange, very shocking, and since we are Hungarians very upsetting, to read the news, which reached us through the Hungarian papers, about the Romanian situation.

[Dubka or Horvath] Naturally, these worrying reports became topics of daily conversation in the family circle.

We were surprised to hear the Transylvanians were escaping to Hungary as well. Suddenly we found that they were escaping not only to Hungary but also to Sub-Carpathia.

[Marvanyi] Is this a conscious policy on the part of the Transylvanian Hungarians who wish to leave Romania, that they should go not only to Hungary but also to Sub-Carpathia? Or is it just that they get lost at the borders between the three countries?

[Dubka or Horvath] Well, we have been thinking about this, whether this is a conscious act motivated by the thought that since nationality policy is receiving the appropriate treatment in the Soviet Union, the country might protect them if they escape to us. We know that the law relating to crossing the border between the two countries states that anyone who transgresses the border, from whichever side, must be handed back within 24 hours.

[Marvanyi] In other words, the Soviet border guards expel those Hungarians who go over from Romania to the Soviet Union back to Romania?

[Dubka or Horvath] Yes, that is right.

[Dubka or Horvath] Yes, this happens more amd more frequently. They are not just individual actions but happen with groups as well. Most recently I think 14 people escaped or crossed the border, and control is being strengthened all the time. They are searching for them.

[Marvanyi] In the Soviet Union?

[Dubka or Horvath] Yes. And what is really shocking and painful is that, in accordance with the law, they have to be handed back, however much they ask to be allowed to stay.

[Marvanyi] So they expect to be given refugee status in the Soviet Union—which they get in Hungary— but in the Soviet Union they are not given this status but are handed back.

[Dubka or Horvath] Yes, that is so; they are returned. In my opinion, it would be better if the Transylvanians stayed home rather than choosing the Soviet Union.

[Marvanyi] The risk of escaping to the Soviet Union is much greater than escaping to Hungary.

[Dubka or Horvath] Yes. We have heard that as far as 150 km away they crossed over. In other words, it is not only Hungarians who come over but also Romanians, Ruthenes, and Ukrainians.

[Marvanyi] And are they sent back just as the Hungarians are?

[Dubka or Horvath] Yes. Just as every third family has relatives in Hungary, the same is true with respect to Romania. A great many people have relatives there. So it is understandable that people are upset.

[Marvanyi] The demonstrations in Budapest showed that this is not just a Hungarian nationality matter, but a matter of the human rights of Romanian citizens. I think that the Sub-Carpathian views are the same.

[Dubka or Horvath] A group of Ungvar professionals has written a telegram in which they expressed briefly their views regarding the Romanian situation and they have sent this telegram to the Supreme Soviet. [end recording]

Cardinal on Romanian Treatment of Hungarians

LD1707181588 Budapest MTI in English 1627 GMT 17 Jul 88

[Text] Budapest, July 17 (MTI)—Primate Laszlo Paskai, archbishop of Esztergom and president of the Hungarian Episcopal Bench who had been installed cardinal by Pope John Paul II on June 28, celebrated his first cardinal's mass in the Esztergom Basilica on Sunday. The thanksgiving mass was attended by members of the Hungarian Episcopal Bench, State Secretary Imre Miklos, chairman of the State Office for Church Affairs, Cardinal Franz Koenig of Vienna, and Javier Rubio [Garcia-Mina], ambassador of Spain to Hungary.

In his sermon Laszlo Paskai emphasized that his installment as cardinal was an honour for the Hungarian church and the Hungarian people as well. He said that he would fill his post in keeping with the memory of his predecessor, Cardinal Laszlo Lekai, primate and archbishop of Esztergom.

Hungarians at home and abroad are to commemorate this year the 950th anniversary of the death of Saint Stephen I, founder of the Hungarian state, the cardinal said. Then he stressed 'I cannot conceal the grief that fills our whole nation this year for our Hungarian brethren living in Romania. I held it a painful obligation to raise my voice of protest in my first manifestation as a cardinal in the interest of our Hungarian brethren living in Romania. (The statement of Laszlo Paskai published in the "UJ EMBER" weekly was covered on July 1—editor's note). I was not led by the intention of interfering with the internal affairs of another country but by humanism and the endeavour of preventing the grave violation of human rights. I call upon the Hungarian and international state and social organizations also from here, the Esztergom Basilica, to do everything to prevent the Romanian government from implementing its decision which violates human rights fundamentally.

'Our church is a creative and respected part of Hungarian society. We have to serve advancement in the spirit of peace and agreement. ... This is the way how we can prove that our church is goodwill,' Laszlo Paskai said in his sermon.

Romania Suspected of Polluting River

AU2607090088 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 23 Jul 88 p 4

[Interview with Lajos Szlavik, director of the Upper Tisza Environmental Protection and Water Affairs Directorate, by correspondent "S.M.": "Is the River Szamos Polluted?"—date and place not given]

[Text] Workers of the Upper Tisza Environmental Protection and Water Affairs Directorate have noticed serious water pollution on the River Szamos. We asked Director Lajos Szlavik about the origins and extent of the pollution, and about the measures taken by the directorate.

[Szlavik] Our experts noticed the deterioration in the water quality of the River Szamos in the afternoon of 19 July. The entire river was dark brown and covered by a foamy sticky substance in which small and big dead fish were floating. We were aware of a considerable amount of rainfall in the Szamos river basin in Romania which had even led to a small flood, but there were also signs of pollution of another nature. In accordance with the agreements on border area water affairs, we sent a telex to the Romanian side in which we made inquiries about the origin of this pollution.

[S.M.] What was the answer?

[Szlavik] They said that they did not notice any kind of pollution on their territory. In the meantime, however, we observed signs of chemical pollution on Wednesday and Thursday. The water's oxygen content dropped below the critical point and a suspiciously high content of zinc and salt was found in the water, both elements above the permissible level.

[S.M.] How much?

[Szlavik] The amount of zinc was double the permitted level, 2 milligrams per liter, and the salt content reached 2,000 milligrams per liter. Tests carried out on fish, tests that can show the origin of pollution in decaying organisms, showed extensive poisoning. Therefore, we are

justified in assuming that there was a case of concentrated pollution, in addition to the aforementioned flood wave. Therefore, we ordered a second degree alert on Thursday at 8 a.m., and we changed it into a third degree alert by 1 p.m.

[S.M.] If I am not mistaken, this is the most serious level. What happened next?

[Szlavik] Our technical and safety workers are carrying out an extremely difficult job. They are spreading a fishing net on the River Szamos at Csenger to stop the floating dead fish. This is particularly difficult because the flow of the river is very strong here. On the basis of the dead fish caught so far, we can estimate a loss of 1 and ½ tonnes of fish. The veterinary service has also joined the investigations.

[S.M.] Are there international decisions and agreements that apply to such cases?

[Szlavik] World organizations like the United Nations Environment Program, the FAO, or the CEMA only have proposals. A border area agreement is much more concrete than these proposals. In accordance with this agreement, we asked for a joint water sample and analysis.

In the meantime, we were also informed by Lajos Szlavik that the Romanian partners arrived to take joint water samples and to carry out analysis and the results are due later. According to the latest information, the pollution has reached the River Tisza and arrived at Balsa, and is approaching Tokaj.

Nyers Meets With Danube Environmentalists

LD1607165788 Budapest MTI in English 1552 GMT 16 Jul 88

[Text] Budapest, July 16 (MTI)—Leaders of the Danube Movement Imre Mecs, Laszlo Szekeres and Janos Vargha as well as Bela Liptak, a representative of the Western Hungarian Fund for Environmental Protection, visited Rezso Nyers, member of the HSWP Political Committee, in Budapest on Saturday, and discussed with him the ecological and economic problems of international import of the Bratislava-Budapest reach of the Danube and the dangers related to the construction of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros water barrage. The sides held it important to inform society objectively, including information on the standpoint of the environmentalists.

Defense Committee Visits Nuclear Power Station

AU1607160388 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 13 Jul 88 p 4

["The Defense Committee Visits the Paks Nuclear Power Station"]

[Text] The Defense Committee of the National Assembly held a session in Paks on 12 July. The deputies acquainted themselves with the Nuclear Power Station in Paks, with its operation and safety. General Director Jozsef Ponya told the deputies that the Paks station meets almost one-third of Hungary's electricity demand. In order to produce such a huge quantity of energy by traditional means, we would have to double our domestic coal mining production, a task that, is impossible at present. In addition, the nuclear power station produces energy for much less than the coal or oil-fueled power stations, which means that the Paks station pays an annual sum of 12 billion forints net profits into the budget. Thus, one can understand that two additional 1,000-megawatt blocks are currently under preparation. (At present, the nuclear power station in Paks operates with a capacity of 1,760 megawatts.) Another considerable factor in favor of the nuclear power station is that compared to traditional power stations, nuclear power stations are almost totally pollution free.

Nuclear Director Laszlo Marothy spoke about the storage of radioactive wastes. He also mentioned the planned isotope dumping site at Ofalu. Laszlo Marothy told the deputies about the technological solutions involved and expressed his and other experts' opinion that this site would be safe from every point of view. Although the Ministry of Social Welfare and Health has not approved the plans, the Paks nuclear station has appealed against the decision and hopes that an academic panel of internationally recognized Hungarian experts will agree with their viewpoint.

Following the briefing, the deputies watched a short British film on the toughness and safety of the containers used to transport the nuclear fuel elements. At the request of the deputies, the leaders of the Paks power station said that there have been no radiation accidents at Paks so far. The radiation level is well below the limit both in the power station and in its surrounding area.

One of the deputies made inquiries about the background of a rumor which started in Sumeg and which said that radioactive wastes were burned at the waste incinerator of the Sumeg agricultural cooperative. Director of Operations Peter Simon denied these allegations and said that they had looked into this rumor. The Paks nuclear power station does indeed send waste material to the Sumeg incinerator, but this material is completely inactive.

Straub Comments on Role of President

AU1507163488 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 12 Jul 88 p 5

[Interview with Bruno F. Straub, president of the Presidential Council, by Kornelia Dolecsko: "The Work of the National Assembly Should Be Modernized—the President of the Presidential Council Has Returned—Interview With Bruno S. Straub"—at the Ferihegy Airport on 11 July]

[Text] Since his election to the highest post of the state, Bruno Ferenc Straub, president of the Presidential Council, has been visiting the United States. He

accepted an invitation extended to him much earlier and addressed a scientific conference commemorating Albert Szent-Gyorgyi [a Hungarian scientist]. The president arrived at Ferihegy on Malev flight 521 from Frankfurt a few minutes after 1400 [local time] on 11 July. Wearing a striped jacket and an open-collar white shirt and carrying his hand luggage, he stepped off passenger ramp no. 44 and entered the arrival lounge.

No ceremony was held. He was greeted by his wife, Academician Gertrud Szabolcsi, and by Imre Katona, secretary of the Presidential Council, who will be his immediate associate. Waiting for his luggage to arrive and sipping a cup of black coffee, we asked to interview him on Hungarian soil for the first time.

In the beginning we asked him about his long trip and the president said that he had had an exhausting flight. He added the following: "In addition, the Lufthansa people discovered me in New York, and took me to a very nice reception hall on the third floor. They were very nice and I traveled very elegantly. Then everybody lost me in Frankfurt and so I sat there alone, reading for 4 hours."

[Dolecsko] How did the scientific conference you attended go?

[Straub] It was a pleasant conference. I enjoyed talking about science, particularly now, when I know that new difficulties and problems are accumulating before me. Some of us were Szent-Gyorgyi's direct associates at some point and we felt good to remember him.

[Dolecsko] Have you met the leaders of U.S. public life, or have you only stayed among scientists and with the family of your daughter who is living abroad?

[Straub] This was a scientific conference which I combined with a visit to my family. I have not met anyone in my capacity as president of the Presidential Council. Perhaps it is better this way because I have to learn a lot—again—so as to fulfill my task well. Learning for me is not a new experience, I have been learning my entire life. All along I have had to learn still newer things. A person with a scientific career gets used to this. In my new job I will also have to learn a few new things so as to accomplish the task well.

[Dolecsko] In one of your statements which has been published since your election as president, you said that you would like to be a president who initiates. What did you mean by this?

[Straub] I think that the opportunity to advance the cause of Hungarian society by means of various initiatives is inherent in this office. We should make use of this opportunity. I know that there is an ongoing debate concerning the role of the president. Mikhail Gorbachev has also made a statement on this issue in previous weeks. I think that the debates will settle within the coming 2 years, during which period I will be able to shape this office. I would like to profitably participate in this work.

[Dolecsko] The public approved of the National Assembly electing you, a world-famous and distinguished scientist, as president. Many people think that this is a signal to the intelligentsia. What do you think?

[Straub] Indeed, I have actively participated in scientific life in recent decades. But I do not think that I am the most prestigious person within this group of scholars. People with very great international prestige can already be found among the young scientists. As for the second part of your question, my election is certainly a gesture to the intelligentsia, but the president of the Presidential Council is responsible for the entire nation. At the same time, in this position I will have the opportunity to properly shed light on the situation of the intelligentsia. This is also frequently needed. However, science starts with education. My two sisters and my father were teachers. This is also the reason why I say that we should primarily do much for education and that is where we should start, because science cannot hang in the air.

[Dolecsko] Going back to your earlier comment, the substance of the post of the head of state is being shaped. Let me be the first to inform you that the National Assembly has appointed a committee which will prepare the constitution. I should think you would want to participate in this work.

[Straub] I will probably participate in this work. Reassessing the sphere of authority of the Presidential Council is also part of the political reform, just as it will be necessary to modernize the activities of the National Assembly in the near future. For the time being, the frameworks exist, and we will have to fill them up with substance. We cannot wait for the new measures. However, we should pay close attention to the alternatives and ideas and think of ways to do our work increasingly better.

[Dolecsko] When will you move to your new office?

[Straub] The fact that there is work somewhere that has to be done, rather than the office, is what is important. It is the work that we should find.

[Dolecsko] Thank you for the interview.

Leaders' Public Appearances 30 June-6 July

AU08071435 [Editorial Report] Budapest newspapers in Hungarian from 1 to 7 July report on the public appearances of the following leaders (source, date, and page number of each report is given in parentheses):

MSZMP General Secretary Karoly Grosz, chairman of the Council of Ministers; Judit Csehak, member of the MSZMP Politburo and minister of social welfare and health; and Lenard Pal, secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, attended a ceremony nominating university rectors and lecturers at the Domed Hall of Parliament on 4 July. (NEPSZABADSAG, 5 Jul, p 9)

Jozsef Marjai, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of trade, attended a cornerstone laying ceremony of a memorial for the 600,000 Hungarian Jews who died during World War II. The ceremony was held at the entrance of the former ghetto in Budapest on 3 July. (MAGYAR HIRLAP, 4 Jul, p 4) He also met with Hungarian-born artist Tony Curtis, honorary chairman of the Emanuel Foundation which is based in New York; date and place not given. (MAGYAR HIRLAP, 4 Jul, p 4)

Csaba Hamori, member of the MSZMP Politburo and first secretary of KISZ, attended a political forum held after a political rally organized by the Bacs-Kiskun County KISZ Committee at the Army Club in Pecs on 30 June. (NEPSZABADSAG, 1 Jul, p 6) He participated in a forum of KISZ leaders at universities and institutions of higher education who attended a national summer camp devoted to issues of renewing KISZ, in Aranyszarvas on 7 July. (NEPSZABADSAG, 7 Jul, p 5)

Janos Lukacs, member of the MSZMP Politburo and secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, paid a 2-day visit to Komarom County, where he met with local party and council officials and visited cultural establishments and a local enterprise. (NEPSZABADSAG, 1 Jul, p 6)

Judit Csehak, member of the MSZMP Politburo and minister of social welfare and health, received Michael McGinnis, U.S. deputy assistant secretary for health; date and place not given. (NEPSZABADSAG, 2 Jul, p 8) She paid a visit to the new wing of the MAV Hospital in Budapest on 5 July. (NEPSZABADSAG, 6 Jul, p 5)

Imre Pozsgay, member of the MSZMP Politburo and minister of state, attended the opening of the 16th National Conference on the Knowledge of the Homeland at Tata on 4 July. (NEPSZABADSAG, 5 Jul, p 5)

Rezso Nyers, member of the MSZMP Politburo, received a delegation of French businessmen led by Jean-Marie Weider, deputy general director of the Societee Generale and chairman of the Hungarian section of the French Industrialists' National Council on 6 July; place not given. (NEPSZABADSAG, 7 Jul, p 4)

Janos Berecz, member of the MSZMP Politburo and secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, toured the Csepel Machine Tool Enterprise and met with enterprise managers and party members on 6 July. (NEPSZABADSAG, 7 Jul, p 5)

Istvan Szabo, member of the MSZMP Politburo and chairman of the Agricultural Cooperatives National Council, visited Pest County, met with party and council officials, and toured a local producer cooperative on 6 July. (NEPSZABADSAG, 7 Jul, p 5)

Gyorgy Fejti, secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, awarded the Order of Merit for Socialist Hungary to Ferenc Gal, retiring deputy chairman of a department of the MSZMP Central Committee, on behalf of the Presidential Council; date and place not given. (NEPSZABADSAG, 1 Jul, p 7)

Matyas Szuros, secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, received a delegation of the Communist Party of Venezuela which visited Hungary between 26 and 30 June and which was headed by Trino Melean, member of the Politburo and chairman of the Central Control Committee of the Communist Party of Venezuela, and by Elvira de Avila, member of its Central Committee; date and place not given. (NEPSZABADSAG, 1 Jul, p 6) He held talks with Manuel Dias Loureiro, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Assembly of the Portuguese Republic and president of the Social Democratic Party, at Parliament on 30 June. (NEPSZABADSAG, 1 Jul, p 6)

Olechowski Departs for Official Visit to U.S.

Relations With U.S. Examined

LD2507203788 Warsaw PAP in English
1834 GMT 25 Jul 88

[By Zbigniew Boniecki]

[Text] Warsaw, July 25—It is a truism to say that Polish-U.S. relations are of considerable importance to Poland. Relations between the two countries went a long way during Ronald Reagan's two terms in the office of U.S. President. And now an official, first in nine years, visit of a Polish minister for foreign affairs to the United States is taking place. Tadeusz Olechowski's arrival in the U.S. following an invitation from George Shultz means restoration of full dialogue on the level of heads of diplomacy of the two states.

After the drastic blocking of relations with Poland which occured in early 1982, first symptoms of normalization appeared as late as in 1986 in Vienna, where high-ranking diplomats held talks. In January 1987 John Whitehead paid a working visit to Poland, while on February 16 same year American restrictions were formally lifted and the most favoured nation status was unconditionally restored to Poland.

Soon afterwards, visits to the United States were paid by Chairman of the Sejm Foreign Affairs Committee Jozef Czyrek, and subsequently by Polish Sejm Speaker Roman Malinowski. Also in 1987 decisions were made as to appointing ambassadors to Warsaw and Washington. In September same year Poland was visited by Vice-President George Bush. Ministers Orzechowski and Shultz met also in September 1987 in Washington during the U.N. General Assembly session. All that time numerous congressmen and senators paid visits to Poland.

The intensity of Polish-American contacts is being enhanced this year. Mention should be made here first of all of the recent U.S. visit by Deputy Prime Minister Zdzislaw Sadowski. Visits were also exchanged between the head of the United States Information Agency and the director of Polish Foreign Ministry's Press and Information Department.

Poland embarked upon a process of deep political and social transformations at the turn of 1970s and 1980s putting them to life according to her own scenario. Many realistically thinking politicians in other countries are aware of that as they follow developments in Poland and are willing to recognize real facts of today rather than bygone symbols. Understandable interest of these politicians is aroused by Polish endeavours in seeking development of democracy and national agreement.

Minister Olechowski will spend the first days of his stay on American soil in New York, where he is to meet David Rockefeller and other businessmen, various Polonian circles as well as President of the World Jewish Congress Edgar Bronfman. He is also to deliver a lecture at the Foreign Policy Assocation, to visit the Institute for Studies of Security Problems in East-West Relations and to meet New York's Mayor Edward Koch.

During the official part of his visit, in Washington between July 28 and 29, Minister Tadeusz Olechowski will hold talks with Secretary of State George Shultz, with senators and congressmen as well as with other leading U.S. politicians.

The subject matter of the Polish-American talks will comprise issues of international security and disarmament, especially creating a climate for the development of cooperation in the fields of economy, finances and credits, science and technology.

The motto of Polish foreign policy is winning friends for Poland wherever it is possible, regardless of past episodes in bilateral relations. Poland wants such relations to be stable, based on solid foundations, and free from emotional fluctuations. It is Poland's wish that her partners carry out such a policy towards our country which would be practically in keeping with official declarations, and would be grounded on full respect for national sovereignty.

Minister Olechowski's visit to the U.S. will undoubtedly be an important step forward in the relations between the two countries. It is noteworthy that Minister Olechowski sets off for his first official foreign trip just to the United States, and that it shortly follows the visit to Poland by Mikhail Gorbachev and the Warsaw meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the States-Parties to the Warsaw Treaty. The documents of that meeting aroused positive interest throughout the world and are helpful towards the circulating of new thinking.

Olechowski Arrives Jul 25

LD2507164388 Warsaw PAP in English
1600 GMT 25 Jul 88

[By PAP correspondent Jerzy Gorski]

[Text] New York, July 25—Following an invitation from U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz, Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs Tadeusz Olechowski arrived in the United States on an official visit.

The minister is accompanied by a group of experts in Polish-American relations and in disarmament and international security problems.

The present official U.S. visit of the Polish foreign minister is the first one to be held in nearly ten years.

Talks in Washington will be preceeded by Polish foreign minister's stay in New York, during which Minister Tadeusz Olechowski is to hold meetings with representatives of American political, economic and press circles as well as of American Polonia.

Politburo 'Communique' for 19 Jul Session
AU2507124188 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21-24 Jul 88 pp 1, 2

[PAP report: "Communique From the PZPR Politburo Session"]

[Text] On 19 July, the Politburo acquainted itself with a report on the course and results of last week's official visit of friendship to Poland paid by CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev at the invitation of the PZPR first secretary and PPR highest state authorities.

The Politburo said that the visit and talks between both party leaders and the PZPR and CPSU delegations have given a new impetus to the development of fraternal friendship between the peoples of Poland and the Soviet Union and provided major substance to the allied cooperation of our states.

The visit conforms to the spirit of internationalism and is based on the principles of equality, independence, sovereign decisionmaking about the socialist development paths of our countries, and a respect for each country's traditions and contemporary conditions.

The warm reception accorded by the Poles to Mikhail Gorbachev throughout his visit confirmed their recognition for the policy of domestic restructuring pursued by the CPSU under his leadership, the new thinking in international politics, and his personal respect and warm feelings toward our country.

During the talks, which proceeded in a friendly atmosphere of mutual understanding and trust, there was a broad and useful exchange of views about the current sociopolitical and economic situation in the PPR and USSR and resultant plans and tasks. The present state and prospects of relations between both states and complex international problems, with particular reference to Europe, were discussed.

M. Gorbachev's visit and talks have confirmed that the PZPR and CPSU are joined by an ideological and political unity; a joint philosophy of building a modern socialist society; and a bold, innovative search for the most appropriate roads of development.

The disarmament proposals made by Mikhail Gorbachev in Warsaw, which offer chances for a gradual increase in European security and confidence leading to Europe's transformation into a common home, have met with full approval from the Polish people and have resounded throughout the world.

The profound restructuring initiated and led by the CPSU in all fields of Soviet life and associated with the name of Mikhail Gorbachev has won the support and recognition of the PZPR and broad masses of Polish society.

In the assessment of Poles, the USSR restructuring involves historic transformations based on a revival of the Leninist principles of socialism and a liberation of society's creativity. These factors are imparting new stimuli to contemporary Marxist thought, and are restoring the qualities of innovation and revolutionary fervor to CPSU and Soviet state political practice.

The restructuring in the Soviet Union, socialist renewal in Poland, and various forms and degrees of change in many socialist countries, are interdependent. The fundamental joint goal is to make maximum use of socialism's enormous potential to improve the standard of living of working people and develop the socialist states.

The leaders of both parties noted with satisfaction the basic convergence between the Polish socialist renewal program and the Soviet restructuring. They underscored the need to carefully analyze joint experiences and employ them in their respective countries. They said that the PZPR and CPSU are the leading forces in the process of reform, are making activity more effective, and are developing socialist democracy and openness in all spheres of sociopolitical life.

The Politburo stressed that the continuing restructuring of economic mechanisms in the Soviet Union and the Polish economic reform are convergent in their principles and aims, offering real possibilities of proceeding to a qualitatively new stage and level of bilateral economic relations. Availing oneself of these chances requires a joint implementation of new, bold, and innovative methods of action that suit the requirements of today and the challenge of tomorrow.

The concept of economic and scientific cooperation between Poland and the USSR for a period of 15 to 20 years is a major step along the road toward greater economic integration among our countries.

The Politburo said that Mikhail Gorbachev's visit signifies a new stage in the development of Polish-Soviet relations of friendship and cooperation.

The talks and the declaration stressed the need to develop broad, more liberal, and more decentralized relations in all areas of life, including lively, direct contacts between the citizens of both countries.

The Politburo expressed its satisfaction with the recent decisions concerning Poles living in the Soviet Union and with the increased care accorded to monuments of Polish culture and traces of our common history located in Soviet territory.

The Politburo said that the adopted decisions have defined new fields and forms of cooperation and caused an enrichment of its essence. This is leading to the highest state of Polish-Soviet relations in history.

The Politburo fully approved the talks between PZPR First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski and CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev, and recommended that the resultant decisions be implemented.

Next, the Politburo acquainted itself with the course and results of the conference of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee. This was an important event in international life, and attracted the people's attention in socialist countries and the world.

It confirmed the willingness of the socialist states to continue to intensify the policy of dialogue, detente, disarmament, and development of mutually advantageous cooperation in Europe and the world, and to secure the irreversibility of the positive processes in international relations.

The documents adopted at the conference comprise a constructive program of concrete undertakings in these fields, especially in Europe.

During the conference, and especially during the meeting of the general secretaries of the Warsaw Pact communist and workers' parties, the paths of close cooperation between the fraternal states were defined, taking into account the socioeconomic changes occurring in them.

It was noted with satisfaction that the conference participants had praised Poland's effort in preparing and holding the conference. The Politburo approved the results of the conference and the work of the Polish delegation, and charged the relevant ministries and offices with fully implementating the conclusions and tasks stemming from the conference.

The Politburo reviewed the conversation between Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR Central Committee first secretary and chairman of the PPR State Council; and Karoly Grosz, MSZMP general secretary and chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers. The Politburo learned with satisfaction about the complete consensus reached by the two party leaders about basic issues in Polish-Hungarian cooperation and the international situation.

It was stated that bilateral political and economic relations are developing dynamically. Both countries are conducting profound sociopolitical and economic reforms. An exchange of experiences will encourage a further expansion and improvement of these reforms.

The need was stressed to apply new methods which suit the modern requirements of mutually advantageous economic cooperation.

Both countries are interested in accelerating the restructuring of CEMA mechanisms of functioning.

There are good prospects for a continuation and tightening of cooperation between Poland and Hungary in the spirit of traditional friendship and for the sake of disarmament and peace, especially in Europe.

The Politburo made a preliminary evaluation of economic performance during the first half of the year. The economy's most serious and growing weakness during this period was the deteriorating financial and market situation, imbalance, and inflation. These have not been neutralized by the favorable situation in industry, construction, and exports noted this year. The exceptionally high growth of wages and the accompanying increase in prices are weakening the effects of the reform and economic policy, and are threatening to nullify them.

The Politburo recalled that the Seventh Central Committee Plenum had specified the general ways of countering inflation. Now it is necessary to give concrete shape to activity designed to achieve this objective, and implement it quickly. The government's tasks on this are clear. They include activity meant to boost the supply of market commodities and improve services. The possibilities in this sphere will not be hampered by the already-started transfer of assets from the sphere of investments to the sphere of market production, the use of production for defense purposes, and foreign currency injections for market production. The work of the government, people's councils, administration, and all economic units must overcome the barriers to enterprise more effectively. The government should unhesitatingly and fully use the extraordinary powers with which it has been equipped by the Sejm. What is needed is an in-depth evaluation of the results of the first half of this year and the establishment, by the end of August, of further activity to limit the outflow of money, end the subsidizing of inefficient enterprises, rationalize budget spending, and improve tax discipline.

The party leadership should be regularly informed of the present results of these undertakings and the results foreseen in the second half of the year.

Independently of the undertakings designed to boost supply and limit the outflow of money, the Politburo recommended various ways of committing the population's money reserves for purposes other than consumer spending. This calls for more flexible interest rates on savings, an expansion of voluntary insurance schemes, and the rapid introduction of the sale of stocks and shares to employees, especially those in enterprises which have become companies.

The Politburo obligated party organizations and cells to concentrate on initiatives designed to balance the market. All party bodies should recruit and promote people who are energetic and enterprising, receive managers capable of achieving good production results, identify and remove difficulties, and permit a liberation of reserves and initiative.

Right now, said the Politburo, it is very important to prepare a second round of accountability and information talks concerning the implementation of the economic reform in enterprises. It stressed the need to control the implementation of conclusions reached during the first round. It recommended that economic commissions, the teams responsible for implementing the second stage of the reform, and aktivs belonging to scientific organizations and associations should be included in the preparations.

The Politburo assessed the progress in implementing the Seventh PZPR Plenum resolution. It underlined the plenum's importance and a need for a full commitment by all party bodies in implementing the resolution. The Politburo will regularly check on its implementation.

The Politburo deemed it particularly important in the present situation to accelerate qualitative changes in party activity aimed at winning over society's understanding for and confidence in party policy. This will be encouraged by a continued expansion of the social basis of national accord, the creation of a pro-reformist coalition, an invitation for all social milieus interested in deepening the process of reforms and democratization to participate in this accord, party activity designed to increase its prestige among the workers' class, an effective solving of workers' problems, and the undertaking of all possible action permitting an improvement in productivity. The implementation of the Politburo's recently-adopted conclusions concerning party work with young people will be controlled.

During the holiday period, it is essential to permit broad discussion during summer camps and let party leadership cadres, experts, social aktivists, and lecturers visit them.

The Politburo assessed the progress in implementing the Seventh Central Committee Plenum resolution on cadres policy. An observance of the principles and mechanisms that ensure social accord and support was considered the primary issue in this regard.

These mechanisms include a democratic and clear personnel policy at all levels, the seeking of the opinion of collectives, the publication of lists of candidates, the briefing of workforces on the reasons behind proposed decisions, and the selection of cadres through competitions. The Politburo said that this principle of competition should also be extended to other leadership posts in the state administration, education, culture, and the health service.

The Politburo paid particular attention to the importance of objective personnel assessments and a more rigorous application of sanctions in cases of neglect, especially in trade, the public services, and wherever the general public is served.

The Politburo stressed that in order to implement the seventh plenum resolution, it is particularly important to increase the party's planning initiative and overcome the order and directive mentality among some of its bodies and aktivists. The Politburo also pointed out that the implementation of this resolution will be encouraged by the revival in internal party life during the preparations for the third all-Polish party theoretical and ideological conference.

Reform Affairs Spokesman Views Special Powers

AU2507161888 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20 Jul 88 p 2

[Report signed "Wodz:" "Special Efforts to Get Things Into Shape in the Economy"]

[Text] At a meeting with journalists on 19 July, Jerzy Malkowski, government spokesman for economic reform affairs, spoke about the ways in which the government is using the special powers that it was granted by the Sejm on 11 May 1987.

In his introductory statement, he stressed: "Essentially, the package of measures described as extraordinary is connected with strengthening the second stage of the reform. Its aim is to encourage enterprises to make greater efforts, to increase wage discipline, and raise output.

"One course of action that the government is engaged in is that of supply-oriented adjustments. These are aimed at achieving a state of economic equilibrium in which there is a more rapid increase in the supply of goods. This explains why one of the government's first steps was to eliminate practices that served to accord the greatest possible preferential status to goods destined for export, at the expense of supplying the domestic market. Thus, what was done was to make the obtaining of revenue tax and bonus concessions earned through exports dependent on maintaining the supply of goods to the domestic market at the 1987 levels.

"A second important decision concerns stabilizing taxes. The aim of these is to encourage the utilization of unexploited production inputs, fixed assets, excessive stocks of machinery and transportation resources, and excess goods. This is connected with the large reserves that exist and the unexploited capacity with respect to machinery. For example, in the electrical engineering industry, machinery was only operating to 64 percent of the capacity, and vehicles in transportation were only being used at 62 percent of capacity.... The basic goal of the stabilizing tax is not to increase budget revenue, but to intensify use of production inputs in the economy, and the flow of raw and other materials. This might also help to reduce the scale of disequilibrium in the producer goods market, because some have these goods but are not using them, while others could use them in production.

However, at the present time there are difficulties, because of the lack of funds to purchase machinery and long waiting periods for delivery.

"These supply-oriented adjustments should improve the situation in the domestic market. Instead of a 1- to 1.5-percent increase in supply, it is envisaged that this might result in an increase in the supply of goods and services of the order of 3 to 3.5 percent.

"The next set of actions concerns anti-inflation measures. It is a question of curbing inflation by way of action in the field of prices and wages. A series of steps have been taken to combat negative phenomena. Treasury offices can postpone the introduction of higher prices for up to 6 months, instead of 3. Sanctions will also be applied against producers who fail to maintain discipline, and against enterprises that exceed the accepted norms for wage increases. For example, if bonuses exceed 25 percent of an enterprise's planned level of profit for distribution, the enterprise will lose the revenue tax concessions that are normally granted to it, and the tax on supernumerary pay awards will be raised by 50 percent for the year in question.

"Enterprise price and wage discipline will also be stepped up. Research indicates that during the first quarter of this year as many as 4,160 economic units, including 2,970 cooperative units, violated existing regulations, which has led to an excessive increase in wages, combined with an increase in prices. Yet output has either declined or has risen by no more than a minimal amount. Sanctions have already been applied against the heads of some units.

"Action aimed at generally getting things into shape in the economy is in progress. A number of enterprises will be merged, split up, or forced to go into liquidation. One of the first decisions to have been made concerns splitting up 6 units and making 21 units go into liquidation. At the same time, in keeping with the plan, voivodship governors are assuming responsibility for more enterprises. The parent bodies of more than 600 enterprises have been changed so far."

Siwicki Addresses New Recruits at Grunwald

AU2507172188 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 21-24 Jul 88 pp 1, 2

[Speech by Army General Florian Siwicki, Politburo member and minister of national defense, at the 20 July ceremony of swearing-in new recruits at Grunwald field]

[Text] Esteemed citizens and comrades, dear young people, and soldiers, we have witnessed the swearing-in of new recruits, an important act in the life of every soldier and the Armed Forces.

On 15 July 1943, the soldiers of the Kosciuszko Division in the USSR were sworn in and a few weeks later went to their first combat. The order issued by their commander was: Repeat the Grunwald battle [of 1410].

We Kosciuszko soldiers were greatly moved at that time. I am pleased that the veterans of those times are here among us. Inspired by the words of their military oath, they followed the glorious combat trail of the Polish People's Armed Forces. We also have among us the veterans of other battles, who fought throughout the world as Polish soldiers for the freedom of man and Poland.

The honorable presence of Polish formations at the Eastern and Western fronts and in the home resistance movement attests not only to a multitude of combat trails followed by Polish soldiers on their way to Poland, but also to the respect that is shown to all of them and to the fact that the Polish People's Armed Forces have taken over their heritage.

At this Grunwald field we have just witnessed the swearing-in ceremony performed by young recruits who are the grandsons of the fighters of Lenino, Warsaw, Berlin, Narvik, Monte Cassino, Arnhem, Rablowo, Porytowe Wzgorze, and the Warsaw Uprising.

Today's swearing-in ceremony is an old tradition, the continuation of which has been enriched by new patriotic values. The swearing-in ceremony is a tradition of many centuries. It is a ceremony, sanctified by the law, one that makes full soldiers out of the recruits. The fact that mothers and fathers are able to witness such a ceremony makes it a festive family occasion. The presence of the Sejm deputies responsible for national defense and of representatives of many generations adds to the importance of this ceremony.

Today's ceremony of swearing-in soldiers of all the armed services is of special significance. They have sworn their allegiance in accordance with a new text of the oath approved by the Sejm of the PPR.

The new text is a new formulation of the soldier's universal duties. It commands the soldiers to faithfully serve the fatherland and the people, to observe the Constitution, and to guard the independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of our homeland, as well as peace, within the fraternal brotherhood in arms with the allied armies.

The present oath enjoins the soldiers to be valiant, disciplined, honest, helpful, conscientious in training and soldierly duties, vigilant, and considerate toward public property.

Polish soldiers dedicate themselves to serve precisely such national, internationalist, and purely human values. The fact that today's ceremony is taking place at the field of Grunwald, which is a place dear to every Pole, is

greatly symbolic. This fact expresses the natural and unseverable link between the past and the present, and shows our respect for tradition and our readiness to use its lessons for the good of our homeland.

The 1410 victory over the Knights of the Cross that was gained at Grunwald by the Polish and Lithuanian troops, led by King Wladyslaw Jagiello and assisted by Ruthenian and Czech reinforcements, resounded throughout the world at that time and greatly transcended its contemporary significance. For many centuries, when Poland was so often afflicted by dangers and painful defeats, it continued to inspire many generations of fighters for the national cause with faith, and the great representatives of national culture with political wisdom and creative force.

The common struggle of the allied nations against the aggressive Knights of the Cross is for us a great historical cause, which is a source of inexhaustible patriotism, which teaches us to respect the achievements of our fathers, which inspires us with faith in the power of the people and the state, and which reminds us of the profound value of alliances.

The symbols of Grunwald are full of facts that are ever valid: the raison d'etat, which stresses the sovereignty of our state; a strong economy; the defense capability; and lasting alliances. At the same time, they stress that today we must be mindful of consistent and effective activities and of the unity of citizens in matters that are most important for the fatherland.

We are faithful to the idea of our forefathers who were at Grunwald. We have made that idea the basic principle of our foreign and defense policies. We threaten no one and we want to live in accord with everyone and to promote equal and mutually beneficial cooperation.

However, mindful of the warnings of history and of the ever present dangers, something which is unfortunate, we continue to take care of our country's defense. Our fatherland's independence, security, and territorial integrity are treasures which are too valuable to be put at the slightest risk. We can dispute and we are disputing how our domestic life should be run, how to overcome our difficulties, and how to modernize and update our state and the economy, but in no case and under no pretext may we engage in disputes that can harm Poland's overriding interests and security.

We are pleased with the progressive detente of the international situation. The conviction that the arms race can lead into a blind alley insofar as world security is concerned in becoming stronger and increasingly universal.

International life continues to shift from confrontation to cooperation, and the atmosphere and results of the Moscow summit meeting have created favorable conditions in which to halt the arms rate and extinguish regional conflicts.

Against the background of these hopeful trends, many politicians and large sections of the public continue to view with interest and offer support for our proposals that there should be a joint search for disarmament solutions and joint efforts to increase confidence in central Europe. These proposals are known as the Jaruzelski Plan.

The Warsaw Pact states have expressed their peaceful intention and resolve to free Europe from a threat of war. They have done so in their doctrine, which is strictly defensive in character. During the recent Warsaw session of the Political Consultative Committee, the Warsaw Pact states again expressed their sincere aspiration to consolidate and deepen the process of detente, and their determination to build solid foundations of confidence. In the documents they adopted, they confirmed most strongly the peaceful message of their peoples and expressed the hope that their new offer will be taken up by the NATO states.

At the same time, the participants in the Warsaw session noted with concern the activities that may halt and complicate the process of detente in view of the fact that not all intermediate- and shorter-range missiles have been removed for destruction, and that plans are afoot to again undermine balance by means of so-called compensatory conventional armaments, the implementation of which might trigger of another spiral of the arms race.

That is why we must maintain vigilance and prudence. Maintaining the necessary defense capability is becoming our military obligation. As ever, our Armed Forces will continue to faithfully guard our people's socialist values and achievements. Young soldiers, I am convinced that they will do this with your active assistance.

Young comrades in arms, Girl Guides, and Boy Scouts, this ceremony is being held on the eve of the 44th anniversary of People's Poland. Soldiers have left their permanent imprints on the entire history of People's Poland. At first, these imprints consisted of combat and then of the service and work performed by the first builders of People's Poland.

Our Armed Forces' unseverable ties and unity with our people are now a source of our soldiers' moral strength. That is why what soldiers value most is the people's trust in them. Young soldiers, you will gain this trust through your conscientious service and work.

Your should always be aware that only reliable defense service and dedicated work to develop the country — service and work that often call for personal sacrifices, strong will, and self-discipline—are able to ensure that civic duties are properly fulfilled.

Our July National Day is always an occasion to sum up our achievements and to consider our future, so that we can better see our commitments.

It is our wish that the program for socialist renewal and national accord is realized most completely and rapidly by eliminating whatever is obsolete, bad, and wearisome in our daily life.

That program also provides for the advancement of your generation—of young conscientious and able people, which means that the proposed transformation of the country offers great opportunities for young people.

We must keep in mind that, inheriting the achievements of the previous generations, each new generation faces new tasks of historic importance.

Generations are links in the chain of the same national existence, although they develop under changing social conditions and external circumstances.

Dear young people, you are also facing the great task of looking after the heritage of your fathers. When the time comes, you will transform this heritage into the fatherland of your own dreams.

The scouting anthem says: "We will give to Poland whatever belongs to us." This call unites and inspires militancy in all our young people, and not only in Girl Guides and Boy Scouts.

Esteemed people gathered and young soldiers; service for the people is the highest soldierly service. Having been sworn in against the background of national emblems and military banners, and in the presence of your relatives, superiors, and other persons, you have demonstrated your readiness to fulfill that service.

You have confirmed your readiness to defend the inalienable and indivisible values of our people—independent and socialist existence, peaceful and creative work, and the inviolability of our borders.

I trust that, united in their serried ranks, the soldiers of the Polish People's Armed Forces will be equal to that great task.

I cordially greet all the persons attending this ceremony, especially the combatants, whose achievements continue to be always enriched by the great relays of soldierly generations. Esteemed colleagues, I thank you for your close ties with soldiers, for your daily cooperation with the Armed Forces, and for your patriotic-defensive training of all the young people at study and work. You may rest assured that for the younger generations your combat achievements in struggle and work will always be a model of how to serve the fatherland.

I warmly greet the parents of our young soldiers here, and I thank them for having trained their sons to be good and honorable citizens.

I thank the people of this region and the All-Poland Committee for Grunwald for their hospitality and for their efforts to cultivate this sacred national site.

I greet Girl Guides and Boy Scouts attending the national jamboree of the Polish Scout Union and the young people participating in the Week of Grunwald Tradition.

I appeal to scouts, members of youth organizations, and all the many young people here to take possession of this Grunwald heritage, to use it for self-teaching, and to build a better future on it for your own happiness and for the glory of the fatherland.

Young comrades in arms, I greet you once again. May you be always successful in your military service for the people and in your civic work for socialist Poland.

Be always faithful to your military oath and to the message of Grunwald.

Attempts To Reconcile Divided Writers Viewed

AU2107150188 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 9 Jul 88 p 8

[Adam Krzeminski article: "Without Fear of Contacts"—first three paragraphs are POLITYKA introduction]

[Text] At the beginning of May, we received an open letter signed by 150 members of the Polish PEN Club, and after some delay this letter was published by RZECZPOSPOLITA and by us. It was viewed as a hint of movement in the literary community. At the same time, representatives of that community met with Minister of Culture Aleksander Krawczuk and with Kazimierz Barcikowski, deputy chairman of the State Council. The movement began to gain momentum. Aside from such high-level meetings, the community itself began to fear less and less the day when the writers, who were at odds ever since martial law, would make contact. The radical swing of the pendulum in one direction after August 1980 and then in the opposite direction after 13 December 1981 was responsible for the polarization of writers' political attitudes. Internment and the acute political struggle created disarray in the circulation of values and in the community dialogue. The dissolution of the old Union of Polish Writers and the suspension of the PEN Club further deepened the antagonisms in the community, which had played a crucial role in developing the attitudes of Polish intellectuals for 40 years.

To counter the further atomization of literary public opinion, the "Consensus" dialogue group brought about the first meeting of many writers, beginning with Jan Jozef Szczepanski, chairman of the former union, through party writers and renowned publishers.

[Krzeminski] In order not to upset anyone and not to close the door to dialogue, the subject of the meeting was formulated in general terms: "Literature and Books in Poland in 1988."

Jan Jozef Szczepanski was the first speaker. He recalled the POLITYKA interview with Wojciech Zukrowski, chairman of the new Union of Polish Writers, who rejected Kazimierz Kozniewski's appeal for some gesture vis-a-vis the members of the old union: "First, there exist certain legal foundations which we have to respect. The union that was dissolved by a legal decision of administrative authorities cannot be regarded as still existing. The union was dissolved, and separate legal acts are needed to reinstate it. Second, the union replacing the old union is simply another organization because, despite the same name, its statute is different. It is not a continuation of the old union. That is why appeals such as 'Wojciech, make that gesture' appear funny to me." The second matter that divided the community was the method of dissolving the old union: "I think that there is no need for me to remind any writer of the details of the campaign of sheer slanders." J.J. Szczepanski recalled the press campaign during martial law in connection with school books. The campaign continued to be waged, despite explanations issued by the Ministry of Education. "Things took such a turn that even a letter of mine was falsified. Although the appropriate prosecutor established that the letter was falsified, I was never allowed to make this known in the media." J.J. Szczepanski also recalled the interviews which sneered at those who wanted to be arrested: "I think that such facts are bound to create very deep psychological traumas, because this is a community struggle that has nothing in common with the dignity of the profession I represent." After such happenings one must not say that some colleagues "are pouting" and refuse to join the new union.

J.J. Szczepanski thinks that all this is of secondary importance: "I would like to at last tell you quite openly and without beating about the bush what the crucial reasons for dissolving our union were. I know that the principle that the party has the leading role is recorded in the PPR Constitution. I think this can be seen as necessitated by our geopolitical situation and that this situation is a realistic justification for that principle.

"In the field of literature that principle is absurd," J.J. Szczepanski said and added that in 1980 members of the union knew that "the principle that the party has a leading role was no longer in force and that in any case the overwhelming majority of them refused to acknowledge such a principle. It is my deepest conviction that precisely this was the reason for dissolving the union, which, in line with the old concepts, was to be one of the echelons of the government and of the ideological or cultural fronts. I think that no such drastic decision would have been made if the events that had a bearing on our situation had taken place 2 or 3 years later."

Professor Marian Stepien, chief editor of reformatory ZDANIE, delivered the second report: "What I have heard is just more proof of the disastrous fact that we have conducted such bad dialogue for so many years. After all, my view of the party's leading role is identical with J.J. Szczepanski's view. Where is it possible to find a writer who would concede that he follows some party directives? I am a party member and a member of the new Union of Polish Writers, but I am not a servant of the party and the government. I am a servant of Poland together with the party and the government. If I do not see eye to eye with the party on how I should serve Poland, my dispute with the party is just as intensive as it is in any other case of disagreement. I do not know a writer who is a member of the party and who would regard himself as the servant of the party, one shackled by its directives." M. Stepien sees the chief ill in the fact that community ties have been broken: "This is some kind of punishment. We are unable to afford talking to each other like normal people, regardless of all traumas, complexes, pretensions, and ambitions. That is why we meet only in cemeteries. We meet at funerals, but we are silent. We try to find out who is still there, but we do this in silence, because we are unable to meet each other as is normal among people."

M. Stepien answered two points raised by J.J. Szczepanski, and this later brought on a debate about the writer's morality: "I will never believe that one side is diabolic and the other side is angelic.... Actually it is our intellectuals, including our writers and humanists, who are responsible to some extent for the present state of our culture. Even he who is subjectively convinced that he is right and that he has been wronged is, like all of us, responsible for this bad state of our culture." Polish intellectual life has been degraded also because genuine discussions have disappeared "since some people have been offended by other people and find it impossible to forgive. Although they may be right on some points, I cannot help blaming them for forgetting that the pulse of intellectual life in Poland is more important than all traumas, pretensions, and the most lofty moralizing, which, I confess, I do not trust. I prefer to have dealings with the people who are alive and who even have their failings, but are thus true humans, than with the moralists who utter pompous words with utmost precision and pedantry. There are moralists and then there are moralists."

The other point dealt with by M. Stepien was pluralism: "We have rejected the myth about ideological-moral unity in favor of political pluralism of political thought and Polish culture. The recognition of the reality of pluralism is a great achievement and value of the eighties and of the breakthrough we have witnessed. But there is something abnormal about all this. Pluralism amounts to

a rich colorfulness and variety of culture, variegated concepts, and mutually enriching philosophies. But party members and Marxists are most keen on receiving incentives from other streams of thought, because these streams mean enrichment. Pluralism must not be taken to mean that many streams of culture or thought are isolated from one another. That is not pluralism. That is a result of the unnatural and abnormal situation in which we have found ourselves." The thing is that various streams in our country are isolated from one another and do not influence one another, and artificial divisions degrade the creative value of our intellectual and literary life: "After all, each one of us knows in advance what an article published about a certain person will be like.... Not so long ago I reviewed the drafts of many essays on emigration literature. These essays were written by young workers from the Krakow Institute of Polonia Studies. They ignored the articles on this subject published by MIESIECZNIK LITERACKI, POEZJA, POLITYKA, ZDANIE, and ZYCIE LITERACKIE, but quoted WIEZ, ZNAK, and TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY. I am a pupil of Kleiner, Pigon, and Wyka and I remember how they impressed on us that he who writes about a subject must list all references to whatever was written on it before. One may disagree with such references, but one must not ignore them. The humanists have been degraded. These young workers did what they did for subjective reasons and perhaps for reasons of ignorance, which is now acquiring brilliance...."

M. Stepien concluded that the road to normalization must not be blocked: "The affairs of the Union of Writers and of the PEN Club have not been sorted out. It is hard to agree that the life of Polish writers in the union structures should be what it is now and that the Polish PEN Club, which has such great traditions, should not be active...."

In his letter to the Consensus group, Stefan Kisielewski thus excused his refusal to attend the meeting arranged by the group: "I am unable to attend, because I do not feel that I can say that I am a creative writer who enjoys the full rights as writer in People's Poland. You see, for the past 35 years I have not been able to publish any novel or volume of essays I wrote all those years. They have always been rejected as harmful and as offensive to the censors. As a result, I have been forced to publish eight novels and four volumes of essays of mine abroad. Five of those novels and most essays have been published in Poland by the so-called second circulation. This means that I do not exist officially as a writer. My legal activity as a writer has been reduced to writing some feuilletons for the Catholic publications. In the situation I have found myself I have never been helped by any union of writers or by the Union of Polish Writers Administration, whose composition was changed several times when Mr Iwaszkiewicz was in charge of it. Nor have I been helped by the administration, which was run by Mr Slonimski and of which I was a member. I have had some hopes for Mr Szczepanski's administration, of which I also was a member, but this board's existence was too brief to serve any useful purpose in my case. In view of this, I was pleased that the union was dissolved, because the dissolution reflected my real situation, namely, that I am not a home writer. Nor do I intend to join any group or participate in some literary meetings until my 12 shelved books are published in Poland...."

Next, Krzysztof Gasiorowski, a representative of the new Union of Polish Writers, read out a resolution passed on 21 April by the Warsaw branch of the union in favor of a dialogue between all literary communities: "Regardless of their views of the world and their public attitudes, Polish writers bear historic responsibility for the heritage and the present and future state of national culture. Our community is divided. Our views on many issues differ, but these differences are not always fruitful.... The writers in the Warsaw Branch of the Union of Polish Writers are being increasingly concerned by the state of literature, the literary community, and this community's intellectual and professional problems. However, we are not the only representatives of this community. We should bring about a community discussion on the state of Polish literature and on all its aspects. Anyone interested in the fate of our literature should be able to participate in this discussion...."

K. Gasiorowski also explained that the Union of Polish Writers is not the right forum for such a discussion and that even invitations to some writers to come to the union's headquarters at Krakowskie Przedmiescie in Warsaw could be regarded by them as an affront. However, the situation of literature is so dramatic that it is necessary to find a neutral place for the discussion in question. "The disintegration of our community is a horrible blow. There has been total disarray in the circulation of values. We are not so concerned with the breakdown of material conditions, with the price barriers erected in the case of books, with the number of the copies of publications, and with the lack of press reviews. What is more important to us is that values have been disintegrated, which, we think, will create irreparable results for the younger generation.

Andrzej Braun pondered on the market and political mechanisms of the degradation of literature. He said that we no longer have outstanding writers such as Staff, Tuwim, Slonimski, Kruczkowski, Dabrowska, and Nalkowka, whom the government regarded as their authorities even after the war. Today writers are left alone vis-a-vis the great publishing machinery, which begins with the editorial boards in the publishing agencies and ends with the institutions that propagate books. Another thing is that market mechanisms and the fiscal autonomy of enterprises, including large publishing enterprises such as the National Publishing Agency (KAW), "do not care whether they publish contemporary books or calendars showing a woman's bosom." Material mechanisms have always existed, but "there also existed a community of writers whose arguments were not material.... Still, at various periods the voice of the writer communities wielding moral arguments would

reach the authorities, and this was a kind of compensation. However, in the situation that has existed in the past few years the rivalry between the two modes of argumentation seem to have disappeared. Following whatever has happened so far, the writers' community has become disintegrated and has been deprived of its voice. Those who still have their voice are apparently too weak to utter it, and that is why they are of no account and have no influence."

A. Braun also argued with M. Stepien about pluralism: "I view pluralism in its social and not psychological meaning. That people think in different ways is not pluralism, because people have always thought in different ways, even during the most intensive Stalinist terror. But whether they have been able to think aloud is another matter.... Pluralism is when people who hold the same views and have the same jobs and professions are able to set up their own organization or association."

Andrzej Grzegorczyk, who together with Anna Tatarkiewicz chaired the Consensus meeting also agreed that the party's leading role is one of the key issue of the literary community's situation and recalled that a certain model of the union of writers is a relic of Stalinism. Today we are entitled to assume that the "state will acquire a new shape" and the the Constitution will be changed. Stalinism has also continued to influence the relations between writers and authorities: "It is possible that the way in which the party's leading role was practised amounted to an act that involved heathenish rituals and court idolatry. It was necessary to kowtow to and prostrate oneself before certain idols. Iwaszkiewicz was very good at that, but there were writers who eventually stopped kowtowing, and that is why party people suddenly saw themselves not appreciated and worshipped enough in their system of the heathen kowtowing. That is the drama of the struggle about religious rituals and about one's refusal to prostrate oneself before idols for the sake of some absolute idea."

Waclaw Sadkowski, chief editor of LITERATURA NA SWIECIE; Jerzy Jesionowski, a representative of the new Union of Polish Writers; and Andrzej Kurz, manager of WYDAWNICTWO LITERACKIE noted in their speeches that the situation is morally more complicated and that the political-psychological arrangements are not so straightforward. Their statements reflected an interesting range of individualized "official" attitudes, which could be taken as an outline of a completely new organizational-institutional situation of our literary life.

"I would not like us to become members of groups or teams delegated by some person, even if this person enjoyed the greatest respect." In this place everyone should be regarded as a guest of everyone. At the same time, consensus should be restored to some basic values. One way to do this is to follow a correct policy of rewards for genuine values, regardless of one's group affiliation or attitudes.

Referring to the party's leading role in the union of writers, J. Jesionowski said outright that such demands should not be made: "I think that, in general, the literary community or the Union of Polish Writers must not be exploited as areas for activities by any political force, because drawing the union into political struggles and into struggles for influence —these struggles were our undoing for all those 40 years—has only inflicted damage on our community and on literature." It is true that the new union of writers succumbed to political influence during its first stage, "but that practice suffered a resounding defeat during the elections of congress delegates 2 years ago. What happened then was responsible for the fact that the present union authorities have never attempted to wield political influence. Neither the party nor any other political forces, which do not belong to the new union, are trying to politically run the union."

A. Kurz made a very specific and significant statement. He said at the beginning: "I would like to make it possible for Stefan Kisielewski, whose journalistic work I adore, to participate in the Consensus discussions. I have good chances of doing this, because this year I will publish—with his agreement—one of his novels included in the list of those novels that have been published elsewhere. It is also possible that later on I will publish a volume of his essays, which he will select himself." A. Kurz also discussed the one-sided view taken by young men and women who fail to comprehend that "the defense of Poland's raison d'etat does not in any way amount to the defense of Stalinism and of the Stalinist view of the party and of the party's role in the state and society. On the contrary, our raison d'etat calls for resolutely replacing those Stalinist institutions and principles by other principles and institutions, ones that cater to the new society and the changing world."

Replying to A. Braun, A. Kurz said that he had always published books on his own responsibility and for what they were worth and that he tried to earn money in order to spend it. "As a publisher I dislike having to meet correct claims submitted by the most irreproachable sides, which most often continue to ruin each other."

Speaking of state patronage, the renowned critic Ryszard Matuszewski once again discussed the atmosphere of the literary community: "The Union of Polish Writers has always tried to democratize our life. However, since the war we have learned to believe that the state's task is to be our cultural patron. At the present moment the breakdown of our community and of patronage is evident in the fact that our colleagues who have been offended by the dissolution of the Union of Polish Writers and of the board of the PEN Club continue to assert that these organizations were actually the tools used by a certain political system and that we can do very well without these tools.... It should be said here that there exists a certain connection between our ideas about the need for a certain modus vivendi with the state that supports us and our natural aspiration to resent state interference. But there was a breakdown in precisely this

regard." The problem is that it is impossible to solve the situation in the union by single gestures. Nor will it be possible to do so even by meetings like this one, R. Matuszewski said.

Nevertheless, the meeting of fewer than 100 writers ended in a significantly calmer atmosphere. And no one doubted that it was a useful meeting.

In his concluding speech, J.J. Szczepanski said quite clearly: "Overall I can say that I am rather satisfied. It seems to me that the present opportunity to meet has been very valuable in that it has made it possible to articulate certain issues that upset us all and are not discussed in public. I am pleased that some measure of consensus has been reached with regard to the party's leading role...." Discussing the allegations that the Union of Polish Writers is unnecessary, J.J. Szczepanski said: "I think that the union is unnecessary insofar as the quality of literature is concerned, but in a welfare state, such as represented by the socialist state, such a union can play a very important role, even if it is no more than a lobby and a pressure group, although in the conditions of disputes and disintegration the activity of such a lobby and pressure group is ineffective." Still, there is no return to the old formula: "The thing to do is to ponder other forms of the integration of our community in the form of clubs and artistic groups, which could some day become a federation or a representation. I do not know whether that is a practical idea, but I think that under the present conditions this idea would be easier to realize than it would be to merge the new union with the other segments of our community."

In his concluding speech, M. Stepien once again discussed the three main points of his report—aversion to moralizing, ill-conceived pluralism, and a new comprehension of the party's role. Stressing the considerable range of publications from RES PUBLIKA through TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY, ZNAK, WIEZ, ZDANIE, POLITYKA and ending with KULTURA and RZECZYWISTOSC, he said that our real pluralism is quite extensive. As for the party's leading role, he said that "the party's cultural program is not something that could never be changed, especially at this moment when it is being crystallized and developed." Its future shape will be determined by everyone—by party members and all the people.

This was an extensive report on the discussion at the Consensus May meeting. This discussion can be regarded as a crucial step toward relaxing the profound divisions and traumas that continue to paralyze our cultural life. Overcoming "fears of contacts" and getting closer to a number of truths that we all share are the condition for normalizing moods and promoting genuine pluralism. One could certainly say that merely talking and doing nothing else is not enough, that time will not heal all the wounds, and that although there is only one morality, moral reasons are many. Nevertheless, the manner of solving conflicts and developing new structures of literary life in Poland is of a significance that goes far beyond the bounds of the literary community. Perhaps that small measure of consensus within that community is a harbinger of a general consensus in new individualized social structures and conditions.

Some crucial events have occurred with regard to that divided community since the May meeting of the consensus group. The open letter which has been written by 150 PEN Club members and which has united writers holding such differing views like those held by Wojciech Zukrowski and Bronislaw Geremek, has been published. Culture Minister Aleksander Krawczuk met a group of writers in Krakow, thus beginning a series of talks with representatives of all orientations in the literary community. In response to the aforementioned letter, Kazimierz Barcikowski received a very large delegation of the Polish PEN Club. The delegation included representatives of the old PEN Club Board. The new Main Administration of the new Union of Polish Writers has also come out in favor of "reinstating the PEN Club" in the hope that in Polish literary life it will play its role for the benefit of Polish literature and in the spirit of genuine pluralism.

It goes without saying that all these events amount to something more than just an improvement in the general atmosphere. It amounts to a signal that the last relics of martial law will be eliminated from Poland's cultural life. However, the problem of the literary community is not merely an administrative problem. This problem also involves the necessity for fundamental discussions on various subjects, including the party's leading role in cultural life—a role that today must no longer be based on that certain traditional model....

Ceausescu Speech to Constanta RCP Delegation
AU2607100588 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 24 Jul 88 p 1

[Text of "Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's Speech" to the delegation of the Constanta County RCP Committee, that he received on 23 July 1988 in Neptun resort, on the occasion of the 23d anniversary of the Ninth RCP Congress]

[Text] Esteemed comrades: I would like to extend my thanks to the RCP Committees of Constanta County and Constanta Municipality, to all the Communists, and to all the working people in Constanta County for the congratulations and the greetings extended to me on the 23d anniversary of the Ninth RCP Congress.

Indeed, the Ninth RCP Congress was an important event for Constanta County—as it was for the whole country—and today, Constanta is among the counties with the best results in the socioeconomic development.

Many things have been achieved in Constanta over the past 23 years, just as in the whole country; nevertheless, there are still many things to be done, particularly in the fields of implementing the programs of modernizing and better organizing activity and of increasing the economic effectiveness and profitability and labor productivity, in order to ensure a better capitalization—than has been achieved so far—on the technical-material means of the industry and the other sectors in Constanta.

Likewise, there are many things to be done in the field of agriculture, although Constanta County has achieved good results. Constanta is among those counties of our country which have the largest irrigated area, and, this year, in accordance with the results obtained so far, Constanta has the opportunity to obtain the largest agricultural yields that have ever been achieved here. I hope that the yields this fall will be at the level of the yields obtained in summer—of course, proportionally and not in absolute terms, because the corn yields must be much, much larger than the barley or wheat yields, this being proof of the implementation of the party policy in agriculture and of the new agrarian revolution.

There are some problems regarding the organization of activity in agriculture, both in state enterprises and cooperatives and regarding the better organization and systematization of localities, in order to raise the standard of living for all the working people in villages.

Likewise, we have to a better use Constanta County's great potential in the field of education, research, and culture, which are important factors for ensuring the overall development and for raising our people's general level of civilization.

In turn, I would like to extend congratulations to the RCP Committees of Constanta County and Constanta Municipality, to the Communists, to all the working people, and all the inhabitants of Constanta County for the good results they obtained so far. I hope that they will work more decisively—in the spirit of the documents adopted in April and of the decisions of the 13th RCP Congress and the Party National Conference—to ensure the implementation of all the socioeconomic development programs and plans and the perfecting of activity, including the political, ideological, and educational activities. I also hope they will see to it that the Constanta RCP organization and the working people make a greater contribution to the implementation of the development programs and that they form a strong and front ranking detachment in the implementation of these great programs for the socioeconomic development of our homeland.

Once again, I convey to you congratulations and wishes for ever greater successes in your activity! (loud prolonged applause)

Andrei Receives Syrian Minister of Industry
AU2507173188 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1630 GMT 25 Jul 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 25/7/1988—On Monday, July 25, Stefan Andrei, deputy prime minister of Romania, met Antoine Jubran, minister of industry of the Syrian Arab Republic, who is paying a visit to Romania upon an invitation extended by the Ministry of the Machine-Building Industry. During the interview, questions were approached related to the growth of the Romanian - Syrian economic cooperation and possibilities were looked into of expanding bilateral commercial exchanges.

Relations of Friendship With Poland Affirmed
AU2507142688 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 22 Jul 88 p 5

[Editorial article: "The Great National Holiday of Friendly Poland"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] The Romanian people follow with warm friendship the efforts made by the working people in Poland to ensure the progress of the new system. These feelings reflect the traditional relations of friendship and cooperation between the two peoples and their progressive forces in the struggle for freedom and progress. In the years of socialist construction, these relations were raised to a higher level and developed constantly on the lasting basis of the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance whose principles and provisions—reaffirmed and specified in subsequent mutual documents—are given concrete shape in the upward trend of Romanian-Polish cooperation at various levels, in the political, economic, scientific-technical, and cultural areas.

Particular importance in giving an impetus to Romanian-Polish relations lay in and continues to lie in the meetings in Bucharest and Warsaw between Comrade

Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and president of the State Council of the Polish People's Republic, which—given the increasing potential of the two countries—opened up great new prospects for their potential.

On the 44th anniversary of Poland's Day of Rebirth, the Romanian people convey warmest congratulations to the friendly Polish people, together with wishes for the achievement of new and important successes in Socialist Poland's prosperity, being also convinced that relations of friendship and many-sided cooperation between the two parties, countries, and peoples will constantly develop to their mutual benefit and in the interest of the cause of socialism, peace, and security in Europe and throughout the world.

Leaders' Public Appearances 17-23 Jul

AU2307180088 [Editorial Report] Romanian media report the following public appearances of Romanian leaders during the 17-23 July period (sourceline given in parentheses):

On 19 July, Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu visited Giurgiu County and Municipality. (Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1300 GMT 19 Jul) (filed as AU1907141888) and (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1823 GMT 19 Jul) (filed as AU1907194688)

On 20 July, Miu Dobrescu, member of the Political Executive Committee, and Ion Stoian, candidate member of the Political Executive Committee, met with a Zairian trade union delegation. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1758 GMT 20 Jul) (filed as AU2007191488) and (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1055 GMT 21 Jul) (filed as AU2107114788)

On 22 July, Constantin Olteanu, member of the Political Executive Committee, and Cornel Pacoste, candidate member of the Political Executive Committee, attended Polish Embassy reception on that country's national day. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1540 GMT 22 Jul) (filed as AU2207170288)

On 18 July, Nicolae Ceausescu received outgoing Italian ambassador. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1543 GMT 18 Jul) (filed as AU1807155388) On the same day, he received Israel's Minister Sharon. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1830 GMT 18 Jul) (filed as AU1807185988)

On 21 July, Nicolae Ceausescu receives Jamaican ambassador's credentials. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1656 GMT 21 Jul) (filed as AU2107175088) On the same day, he received the Iranian minister of plan and budget. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1712 GMT 21 Jul) (filed as AU2107175888)

On 21 July, Stefan Andrei, candidate member of the Political Executive Committee, attended Egyptian Embassy reception. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1222 GMT 21 Jul) (filed as AU2107124188)

On 21 July, Stefan Andrei, candidate member of the Political Executive Committee, together with Ioan Ungur, foreign trade minister, met with the Iranian minister of plan and budget. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1626 GMT 21 Jul) (filed as AU2107173988)

On 23 July, Ion Coman, member of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee, met with a delegation of CPSU activists, led by A.S. Pavlov. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1118 GMT 23 Jul 88) (filed as AU2307133388)

On 22 July, Constantin Dascalescu, member of the Political Executive Committee, received Iranian minister of plan and budget. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1405 GMT 22 Jul 88) (filed as AU2207163788)

On 23 July, Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Romanian Government, received Ladislaw Gerle, minister of metallurgy and mechanical engineering of the CSSR. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1116 GMT 23 Jul) (filed as AU2307133888)

On 21 July, Ion Dinca, member of the Political Executive Committee, attended an economic commission session with the CSSR (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1628 GMT 21 Jul) (filed as AU2107173988) and on 23 July, at the end of the session, he signed the session's protocol. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1048 GMT 23 Jul 88) (filed as AU2307133488)

On 22 July, Ioan Totu, candidate member of the Political Executive Committee, met with Iranian minister of plan and budget. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1426 GMT 22 Jul) (filed as AU2207164088)

Participation in UN Cease-Fire Mission Planned

LD2507173888 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1716 GMT 25 Jul 88

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Jul (TANJUG)—At the request of the UN Secretariat, Yugoslavia has agreed to take part in a UN military observers' mission to supervise the cease-fire between Iran and Iraq. The mission is expected to include about 250 officers from countries in the various regions of the world who would be sent to Iraq and Iran by the UN secretary general when the cease-fire agreement is reached.

Ljubljana Demands Presidency Reconsider Stand

LD2607024388 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2250 GMT 25 Jul 88

[Text] Ljubljana, July 25 (TANJUG)—The Presidency of Yugoslavia's northernmost republic of Slovenia this evening demanded that the Yugoslav state Presidency reconsider its stand on the use of the Serbocroat language at the military trial in Ljubljana.

The trial of the four defendants charged with betraying military secrets—journalists Ivan (Janez) Jansa, David Tasic and Franci Zavarl, as well as soldier Ivan Borstner—is being conducted in Ljubljana, the capital of the republic, in the Serbocroat and not the Slovenian language.

The Yugoslav Presidency on Friday said that the use of Serbocroat, spoken by the majority of Yugoslavs, at the trial is in accordance with the Constitution.

Under the Military Courts Act all Yugoslav languages are equal, the state Presidency said, adding that the defendants are allowed to speak their own Slovenian language.

The top Slovenian leadership reminded the state Presidency this evening that the Constitution of Slovenian state that all federal bodies "dealing with the public services on the territory of Slovenia must use the Slovenian language." This article of the Slovenian Contitution is in accordance with the Federal Constitution, the Slovenian Presidency said.

Further on Language Issue

LD2507212788 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2021 GMT 25 Jul 88

[Summary] Ljubljana, 25 Jul (TANJUG)—At an extended session of the Presidium of the Ljubljana LC City Committee the participants discussed the current sociopolitical and economic situation in the town.

"Polde Bibic spoke in favor of continuing the policy of developing socialism which is worthy of mankind, and demanded that the Presidium of the Ljubljana LC City Committee should express its disapproval of and disagreement with the fact that the trial in the Military Court is being conducted in Serbo-Croatian, instead of Slovenc. His demand was endorsed by the members of the Presidium."

Vojvodina Alliance Discusses 'Recent Protests'

LD2607084488 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1920 GMT 25 Jul 88

[Text] Novi Sad, July 25 (TANJUG)—Methods of pressure cannot be applied in resolving important issues such as constitutional changes in the Yugoslav socialist self-management society, it was concluded at today's meeting of the Socialist Alliance of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina. The meeting dealt with the recent protests held in Novi Sad and Pancevo by Serbs and Montenegrins from the Province of Kosovo which is threatened by Albanian separatism.

At the protests in Vojvodina, demands were made for the removal of obstacles to the constitutional changes in the Republic of Serbia, which includes the Autonomous Provinces of Kosovo and Vojvodina, so that Serbia can implement its authority over its entire territory and be equal in status to the other five republics.

The Socialist Alliance of Vojvodina, the largest sociopolitical organization in the province, today said that it is well aware of the problems of the Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo but maintains that the problems cannot be resolved in other parts of the country through various emmissaries, but primarily in the places where they appear.

The Vojvodina communes have given and will continue to give their full contribution to the realization of the Yugoslav programme on halting the migrations from Kosovo.

It was stressed that the recent events in Vojvodina and Pancevo have already negatively affected the politicization of relations. Concern was expressed over the aggravated political-security situation and inter-nationality relations in the province of Vojvodina, which is well-known for its comprehensive development of inter-nationality relations.

Demands were made calling for strict respect of constitutionality and legality and for preventing public activities of self-proclaimed leaders and opponents of the system.

Presidium Views Novi Sad March

AU2507152288 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Jul 88 p 15

[TANJUG report: "The Presidium Assesses That 9 July Political Demonstrations Had Negative Impact on Intranational Relations and That They Contribute to an Increase in Serbian and Other Types of Nationalism"]

[Text] Novi Sad, 22 Jul—Last night's session of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee Presidium discussed the obligations and tasks of organs and organizations of the LC of Vojvodina in implementing the LCY

Central Committee Presidium's assessments and stances regarding the protest by Serb and Montenegrin nations from Kosovo in Novi Sad.

When implementing the stances it is necessary to resolutely overcome problems, misunderstandings, divisions, and mistrust which have appeared on the political scene and in the media, it was stressed at the Presidium session. All disputed issues can and should be overcome only through tolerant democratic dialogue, reasoned confrontations, and even through criticism within LC organs and other institutions of the political system of socialist self-management, but without pressure, name calling, and denigrations.

It was also pointed out that some media's one-sided interpretation of the assessments and stances of the LCY Central Committee Presidium is unacceptable. They ignore the essence of the assessments and stances of the LCY Central Committee Presidium which criticizes principally everything that created political tensions and confrontations causing political damage in the province, republic, and the country in general. It was also pointed out that the media in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina are obliged to assess their involvement before, during, and after the Novi Sad events as soon as possible, and to make a constructive contribution to the implementation of the stances and assessments of the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

The Presidium assessed that the 9 July political demonstrations and all public events that preceded them or ensued from them impacted negatively on intranational relations and contribute to an increase in Serbian and other kinds of nationalism, and they aggravate the overall political-security situation as well.

Conforming to its responsibility for implementing the stances and assessments of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee Presidium established measures and tasks which should contribute to consolidation and to overcoming such trends. It is most important, it was said at the session of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee Presidium, to solve the vital questions of workers and working people more efficiently, and in this respect, to consistently realize the stances of the LCY Conference on carrying out the economic and constitutional reform and the transformation of the LC.

Pancevo LC Municipal Committee Statement

LD2507213588 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1849 GMT 25 Jul 88

[Excerpts] Pancevo, 25 Jul (TANJUG)—The Presidium of the Pancevo LC Municipal Committee today issued a statement from a closed session saying that the demonstrations organized in Pancevo to coincide with the arrival of a group of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo were aimed at exerting political pressure and diverting the public debate on the coming changes in the constitutions of the Soviet Republic of Serbia and the SAP of Vojvodina, and were used as an opportunity to accuse the leadership of the SAP of Vojvodina of insisting on excessive autonomy and separatism.

"The Presidium stresses that undemocratic pressures and demonstrations are not compatible with our democratic system and are unacceptable as a method of tackling very serious and difficult problems confronting primarily the Serbian and Montenegrin people in Kosovo. In the Presidium's view, activities of this sort hamper the efforts by organized social forces to improve the functioning of the insitutions of the system of socialist self-management and to enhance socialist self-managing democracy. All this serves to divert our attention from vital economic, social, and other problems; to push aside the class dimension of the problems; and to produce adverse effects on intranational relations,"the statement says.

"In the Presidium's view, the gathering of citizens supported the justified demands by the Serbs and Montenegrins for the very complex problems of Kosovo to be resolved efficiently and promptly and for the creation of such conditions as would enable all the nations and nationalities in Kosovo to live in harmony as various nations and nationalities live in our municipality. At the same time a number of those present took the opportunity to protest over divisions and disintegrational processes in Yugoslav society." [passage omitted]

As an expression of self-criticisms, the Presidium agrees that the events drew attention to shortcomings in the work of the LC organization in the municipality and in the activity of other subjective forces, the statement notes.

The Presidium also notes that, despite the LCY Central Committee's unambiguous standpoints on protest meetings, this pressure continues. It therefore deems it necessary for the LCY Central Committee and other LC organs to assess the responsibility of those who violate the relevant standpoints and to embark on the process of ideological differentiation.

The Presidium believes that by reporting on the possibility of a visit by Serbs and Montengrins from Kosovo to Pancevo, some sections of the media have contributed to the mass gathering of people. By their recent euphoric and biased reporting, they have given rise to disquiet, confusion, and even indignation among the working people and citizens, the statement says, inter alia.

DNEVNIK on 'Political Saturday'

LD2507182588 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1432 GMT 25 Jul 88

[Text] Novi Sad, 25 Jul (Tanjug)—All's well that ends well, writes DNEVNIK of Novi Sad in today's commentary on the Saturday event in Pancevo. Assessing all of its details, the paper adds, journalists were divided in

calling it a manifestation or a demonstration, just as they differed in their assessments of the number of gathered citizens. Reporters from Belgrade papers saw everything double and wrote that the number was 10,000.

The question is, DNEVNIK says, whether this time the statement, "All's well that ends well," is valid without any reservations, since several questions remain and they will most likely have to be answered in the next few days. There is no doubt that different explanations will be offered.

First of all, was anybody manipulating the event? Who was manipulated, was there any manipualtion at all? A leaflet which unknown people were leaving in mailboxes in Pancevo was bursting with accusations, insults, and slanders directed at individuals in the Vojvodina leadership. But it cannot really be said that it made the inhabitants of Pancevo take to the streets. They were drawn by many other things, from the desire to take part in, or at least see, a really unusual event in the dull everyday reality of an industrial town, to the possibility of expressing their concern over the situation in Kosovo, as well as in the entire country.

DNEVNIK comments that even an ordinary person has understood that nowhere can one live in peace as long as there is still someone in Yugoslavia who has no peace, as long as someone still enjoys privileges or difficulties only because they belong to one nation and not to another nation. On Saturday, a Pancevo sign painter, Janos Leban, told journalists that he supported the proposed constitutional changes since they would bring brotherhood and unity.... It is understandable that people seek changes because life is not going well.

It would be natural for people to know what kind of changes they want and to state them clearly, so that their voices carry weight when decisions are made, DNEVNIK writes. However, the paper raises the question whether this is the right time to pave the way for further development of Yugoslav society and state with slogans and meetings. That the time is not right for this has recently also been mentioned by the LCY Central Committee Presidium. For example, a cry from the streets of Pancevo of "We Want a United Serbia," or "Without Artificial Borders," is a unanimous, sincere demand of all honest people, but the question is whether they are all so united on what this unity should look like and how it should be built and protected.

Regardless of the fact that both the "guests" and "hosts" are more or less satisfied with the course and result of the Pancevo political Saturday, they did what they "had to do within given circumstances, and it could have been worse!" DNEVNIK writes inter alia.

Amendments to Serbian Consitution Approved

LD2507215688 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2130 GMT 25 Jul 88

[Text] Belgrade, July 25 (TANJUG)—The three chambers of the Republican Assembly of Serbia, Yugoslavia's largest republic, today approved the proposed amendments to the republican Constitution of 1974. After a three-month public debate, the Assembly is expected in November to definitely adopt the constitutional amendments which would ensure that Serbia could excercise its functions as a republic on the territories of the Provinces of Kosovo and Vojvodina which are a component part of the republic.

The amendments should primarily enable the Republic of Serbia to stop the years-long migrations of Serbs and Montenegrins from the Province of Kosovo. The Serbs and Montenegrins have been migrating from Kosovo under pressure by Albanian chauvinists and separatists who are striving to create an ethnically pure province. The ultimate goal of this "ethnic purity" is Kosovo's secession from Yugoslavia and its joining neighbouring Albania.

The proposed amendments were the subject of heated discussions in the Yugoslav public and an open clash broke out recently between the republican and provincial leaderships. The intention of the republic's leadership expressed in the proposed amendments was to excercise state functions of the republic on the territory of the provinces, and this was interpreted by the provincial leaderships as an attack on their autonomy. The proposed amendments also envisage transferring the competencies of the provinces in the areas of state and public security and defence, international policy, and legislation to the republics.

The Socialist Republic of Serbia practically does not exist as a unified state, except formally, in name only, republican Assembly President Borisav Jovic said today. He further said that Serbia in reality consists of three separate states with fully autonomous rights and territories, which has resulted in insurmountable political, legal, and social difficulties.

He said that the Serbian people had lost their unified republic at a time of peace, and said that it would only be fair that it be returned to the Serbian people in a peaceful and democratic manner. He said that the proposed amendments were the minimum needed to enable Serbia to be equal with the other five Yugoslav republics. The amendments would not change the existing Functions of the provinces, but in the fields in question they would also have to respect the corresponding functions of the republican organs.

Conference President on Changes

AU2507144388 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Jul 88 p 3

[Unattributed report on speech by Dr Bogdan Trifunovic, Serbian SAWP Republican Conference president, at the Serbian SAWP Republican Conference Presidium session on Serbian constitutional changes: "For a United Serbia"]

[Text] Concluding the discussion on the proposed amendments to the republican Constitution, Dr Bogdan

Trifunovic, Serbian SAWP Republican Conference president, said that it was the mood and demand of the workers and citizens of the republic that greater unity of the SR of Serbia, as a republic and self-managing community including two provinces, be ensured and that the greater unity of Yugoslavia also be ensured. The vast majority of people really want it to be like this, as they see in this the main guarantee of their survival and progress.

The proposal on the draft of the constitutional amendments has been prepared, on which the Assembly of the SR of Serbia will decide next week and initiate a 3-month public discussion. What is written in the proposal is known, and there are also apparent contentious questions and proposals from the provinces. Therefore, there is no room for vague guesses about what is proposed and why.

Where, then, do the monstrous accusations of the senior officials of the Vojvodina Socialist Autonomous Province come from, that someone in the leadership of the SR of Serbia wants "a third Yugoslavia" and "a great Serbia"? It is not enough to be disgusted at the acts of people who do not see the great damage they are doing both to their own people and to other peoples and nations, in attempting to destroy trust among them with such public statements; to sow fear and suspicion, and to make essential changes to the Constitution of the SR of Serbia impossible. I think that not even the demands for the establishment of personal responsibility are enough. As the responsible body of the Serbian SAWP, we must not only reject these dark accusations but, above all, explain in a political way to the people in this republic and especially in the socialist autonomous provinces, but also to those in other republics, what is in fact proposed as a change to the Constitution of the SR of Serbia and why.

It is extremely important that the citizens of Vojvodina and Kosovo understand that the proposals in the amendments are primarily aimed at ensuring the protection of the rights and equal status of all citizens in the republic's territory by organs of the republic, and at ensuring better protection of the socialist social order and the development of national defense through the specific rights and obligations of republican organs. Above all, this does not involve an alleged republican centralism.

The Serbian SAWP Republican Conference president said that the people do not accept the disintegration of their republic into three separate parts which are in constant conflict, but they want unity in the republic—respecting the autonomy of the provinces—and they want to finally move toward modern socialist development and the overall progress of all parts and the whole of the republic. We will not abandon these demands.

'Lively Polemics' at Serbian LC CC

AU2407175188 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 16-17 Jul 88 pp 6-7

[Ivan Torov, Dusan Drazic, Slavko Curuvija, and Velisa Krsmanovic report "On the Verge of Separation" on the session of the LC Central Committee of Serbia held in Belgrade on 14 and 15 July]

[Text] At about 0400, when the session was in its 19th hour and when only Slobodan Milosevic's concluding speech was expected, Svetislav Stojakov's remark about "different ways of reading and interpreting the announcement of the LCY Central Committee Presidium" touched off lively polemics during which even the possibility of the leaderships of the republic and provinces going their separate ways [razilazenje] was mentioned (directly or indirectly).

Insisting that there can be no dilemmas or different interpretations of the announcement issued by the LCY Central Committee Presidium on the occasion of the recent events in Novi Sad, Stojakov read the following part of the announcement: "In connection with the arrival of a group of Serbian and Montenegrin nationals from Kosovo in Novi Sad on 9 July and the unprincipled public confrontations on the eve of, during, and after these events, the LCY Central Committee Presidium is of the opinion that rallies, demonstrations, and other forms of undemocratic pressure are politically harmful and that through them the difficult position of Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo is misused, intranational relations marred, and an irresponsible campaign launched in a section of the media.

"The LCY Central Committee Presidium concluded that the LC Central Committee Presidium of Serbia, the LC Provincial Committee Presidium of Vojvodina, and the LC Provincial Committee Presidium of Kosovo should immediately assess these events, their causes, consequences, and public reactions to them and brief the LCY Central Committee Presidium." Stojakov was of the opinion that "one does not have to be politically literate," and that "it is sufficient to be only literate in order to understand what this means." After that, Slobodan Milosevic said: "Comrade Ckrebic informed us that the Presidium will hold a session on Monday at which this problem will be discussed, and I think that his explanation was sufficiently clear."

I have been following the entire debate at this Central Committee session, Pavle Krtenic said after Milosevic's explanation, and I have been wondering all this time what actually is on the agenda. Is the Vojvodina provincial leadership on the agenda or are tasks on Kosovo? Really, the Vojvodina provincial leadership is being discussed here very much. Not one of the comrades from Serbia proper had a single good word to say about it. Well, I will have to say that you too, Comrade President, failed to do anything to help us find a right measure in what is discussed here. What would have been said about

the provincial leadership had the situation there been unstable, had we had intranational relations that are unsuitable for us, for society, or for Yugoslavia on the whole, or had there been other problems? What kind of words would have been used then? Now go and analyze certain speeches heard at this session. I think that this is not good. I think that these are not the ways and paths that should unite us. They are not; and that is not good. One even arrives at the thought: Are we really one party? And what kind of party do we have when we cannot find a common language about this?

Many comrades have spoken here about the Novi Sad events. Nobody there called into question the position of Serbs and Montenegrins or showed that he does not sympathize with these problems. Nobody. It was also explicitly said that talks were offered, but that these manipulators and the people who instigated the arrival failed to accept the talks. They were asked several times, but they did not accept them. Well, really, nobody wants to see what was intended and what the aims of the people who came were. Only issues that can be criticized are taken into account. Now see what the banners were like and what was said. There is a 2-hour film, do see what happened there. We do not want to say anything about that, but we discuss other questions all the time; the question whether one should have had the talks. Well, are we the communists of one LCY? Let us evaluate and assess real matters. If needed, we can criticize things, but let us proceed from certain facts, please. Not all banners have been seen, not all that was said and shouted, all the ways, aims, and intentions have been recorded. This was not done by the people we are talking about and with whose problems we sympathize, but by their leaders who had and still have other aims. I think that this is what we should proceed from. I think that it is not good. Anyway, if this is to be discussed, then let us put it on the agenda.

Slobodan Milosevic replied to Krtenic immediately:

I really failed to understand and I do not know whether the Central Committee members understood that the Vojvodina leadership was featured on the agenda in some way. It is my impression that most speeches actually dealt with Kosovo issues and touched upon other issues which were connected with Kosovo issues. I do not see why we should manifest such sensitivity. I am sure that this violent debate should certainly produce a better and more successful action of this Central Committee. Somebody justifiedly said here: For a long time we seemed to have been very unanimous, with no great disagreements, but with small results. Now we record significant results, although we have held many debates during this year when we achieved results. Why would we then raise the question on the way we hold the debate?

Novi Sad events are not taboo topics which are not to be talked about. Why would we quarrel, and about what would we quarrel, and do we quarrel about the same things at all? For not only this Central Committee, but every honest man will denounce the nationalist and anticommunist acts that were perpetrated there. And not just that, the Central Committee Presidium has repeatedly publicly presented its clear standpoint that single-nationality gatherings and journeys from Kosovo are not the way to solve the problems of Kosovo, just as they are not the way to solve any problem in our society and our system.

Second, the Presidium and this Central Committee have several times publicly and completely openly stated that individuals who act from anticommunist and antisocialist positions against Yugoslavia and against socialism are trying to misuse every such rally. Dissociation from this cannot be a topic for discussion by this Central Committee, in the LC, or among Yugoslav citizens. This is not disputable at all. However, the fact that several—10 or 15, it does not matter—anticommunists and nationalists have come out with their pressures and slogans does not allow anybody to declare that thousands of people are enemies, so that one decides not to talk with them; to have them intercepted by militia; to decide to cut off electricity and water when the temperature outside is 40 degrees; and to decide to give them distorted information on the course of events all the time. That is politically damaging. These things must be set apart, and these things are clear.

Therefore, there is no need to confuse issues and to accuse each other: Who supports nationalists and who attacks them. Nobody here wants to support anticommunist or nationalist positions or those people who want to destroy Yugoslavia and socialism. However, nobody wants to accept the fact that citizens of this country are identified with the anticommunist and nationalist opposition. Well, we shall certainly have opportunities to talk about this. Such things must be placed in proper perspective and must not be confused.

I have not noticed, Slobodan Budakov said, that everybody identified the citizens who went there with the nationalists, and I agree with Comrade Milosevic that that is not disputabe. However, it is also indisputable that nobody in Novi Sad or elsewhere said that these citizens had been identified with the nationalists. We shall discuss this on Monday and clear up the whole issue on the basis of correct and authentic information from the site of the events. We shall see what the motives of the gathering were and decide accordingly.

We in Vojvodina often say "the nearer dawn, the better the guests," Radovan Medjedovic said. It seems to me that in these wee hours we overheatedly discuss these big problems that are on the agenda today. First, I want to say that I want to dissociate myself from the tone of the section of Comrade Milosevic's speech dealing with Kosovo citizens' arrival in Novi Sad. Let it be assessed and then seen who is to blame. That person should answer for it. Without real insight into what happened there we cannot make correct assessments at the Central

Committee session. The LCY Central Committee Presidium has obliged us to make a report and an analysis, and to see how to behave in future.

Second, when we again broached some critical issues or the insufficiently discussed questions concerning constitutional changes a month ago, some comrades from Novi Sad and Vojvodina asked me why we are driving ourselves out of the Republic of Serbia. For this is our republic. Now comrades, I want to say here that if we continue to quarrel in such a way and to lead the LC of Serbia into a rift, one should really ask: Have we a place in the LC leaderships?

These are big questions, comrades. Vital questions about Kosovo peoples, Serbs and Montenegrins, the terribly difficult situation and the injustice done to them by separatists and nationalists, as well as about other big questions we talk about in an intolerant, uncomradely way, a way incompatible with the behavior of party members. That cannot lead to anything good, comrades, and therefore I suggest that we find strength and wisdom to find a way out of this situation. We can do it, and if we cannot, we should not sit together, Medjedovic said.

I am a member of the LC Central Committee of Serbia and a worker of the Ruma Fruska Gora footwear factory, Jovanka Kokir said, and added: "After 2 days of work it is difficult to find anything to say about this Central Committee session. After the session we shall go back to our factory to work. The working people will ask us what has been decided here. What shall we tell them? Shall we tell them that we quarreled and that we failed to agree? I have listened to all of you patiently. I am sure that you will also listen to me patiently for 2 minutes.

"Such talks and speeches will enjoy less and less support from LC members among workers. Why then do we ask ourselves why the workers are leaving the LC? What will be said by workers of Vojvodina who work and feed more than half of the Yugoslav population and strive to finish the harvest, sowing, and everything that is to be done, while we conclude this session today in such a way? I do not know anything about such discussions, I have not been taught to attend such sessions. I am upset. You should not think that all other working people and citizens fail to be upset, people in Vojvodina, Serbia, Montenegro, and everywhere. I am not too young either—I have about 20 years of past experience behind me, party experience and work experience. A lot of good and bad things have happened, but I still think that such talks lead nowhere. Regarding the journey of comrades to Novi Sad, there is the stance of the LCY Central Committee Presidium. Do we not respect the stances of the highest organs? Whom should we respect then? We quarrel in the leaderships, but fail to create the climate for a higher income and for better conditions and lives for workers, for those who are going on such marches and those who will go. And there will be more and more of them. We have really said much about this Novi Sad march, but we have in fact created greater confusion and greater discontent among the people," Jovanka Kokir concluded.

After these speeches, several members of the LC Central Committee of Serbia asked for the floor, but Slobodan Milosevic suggested that one should not open up a debate on this question, and added: "I was of the opinion and still am of the opinion that any of the Central Committee members, including Comrade Kokir, will leave this session perhaps confused by the possible thoughts that there is somebody among us who would find some understanding for anticommunist and nationalist slogans and their perpetrators. We had to draw a line between the attitude toward anticommunist slogans and their perpetrators and the questions asked by individual people attending this session, questions concerning real problems and the Kosovo drama that has been going on for 7 years. This Central Committee of ours must carry this out to the end. We should not part without having a clear idea about who thinks what. This is what this is all about.

"Revolt in Belgrade did not break out because someone is bothered by the condemnation of anticommunist and nationalist slogans. Nobody is bothered by that. No honest person is bothered by the condemnation of anticommunist slogans. The revolt has broken out, as was said here—Comrade Budakov has just said so—because of the attitude toward these citizens, because no difference was made between them. There is that saying, 'It is better to release a hundred guilty people than to condemn one innocent man.' It has to apply to this case, particularly because the case here was exactly the opposite: 1 against 100.

"And then, we live and work during very difficult and tempestuous times. We should never leave a session of our LC with reservations toward one another and counting who attached labels to whom and how many labels. Here we should not attach labels to one another and count the labels. The fact that our debates are stormy should be considered advantageous, and used to make work in this Central Committee more successful. This is our republic's political leadership, and being such, it must be capable of making decisions during these hard times we live in.

"Awaiting us now are constitutional changes and many tasks. Even today we were confronted with the question: Shall we treat all ideas and proposals equally? Well, we shall certainly treat equally all proposals with a socialist and self-managing orientation. What else could we do, being communists? However, this is an indicator of the state of mutual confidence, a state that has been getting worse all the time. Being the political leadership, we would have to have the strength to consolidate and stabilize these relations and to make appropriate decisions suited to Serbia's development, and to lead political action in our republic.

"This is why we must completely clear up the questions hanging in the air, questions with not always clear outcomes and maybe containing fear of a higher opinion or of somebody's standpoints. Therefore, we should not be angry or hesitate to state our opinion openly, despite the fact that it is late. I think that we understand each other, and it would be very bad if we had the feeling that during this very long session someone has put the Vojvodina leadership on the agenda. We have not discussed that," Milosevic concluded.

Kosovo Press on 'National Exclusiveness'
AU2407155888 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 18 Jul 88 p 5

[R. Tahiri commentary: "Exclusiveness Is Not Unity"]

[Text] At this precise moment of our general development, when we are confronted with various difficulties and searching for ways to overcome them, recipes are being offered that will not help us surmount the situation, but will create even more confusion and division among the public and will further deepen the contradictions in society.

Such recipes include various recent demands presented in the name of the people and supposedly in the people's interest, which are tinged with national and regional exclusiveness, and put to one side or forget the class element and the joint interests of all nationalities. It is said that "The people demand this," "The people cannot accept that," "The people will never allow such-and-such." The question is whether these are really the demands of the people. Only the interests, rights, and injustices of a single nationality are mentioned. A people's national sentiments and historical past are manipulated, and so forth. Recently, such an approach has become more common, especially when we have been dealing with the constitutional changes in the country, particularly those in Serbia. There is a demand for a united Serbia throughout its territory, regardless of the specific factors that caused the creation of the Serbia we have today, with its two autonomous provinces within it, that are simultaneously constituent elements of the Yugoslav federation. It is being forgotten that this Serbia is a creation of the National Liberation War, when a socialist revolution for new kinds of relations in society took place alongside the war against the occupier.

Such demands are anachronistic, and step outside the bounds of the well-known political guidelines which, among other things, were stated at the 13th LCY Congress, and were powerfully reaffirmed at the LCY Conference and the Kosovo LC Conference. We know what the idea of the people means, when it is used for the purposes of national definition and within a context of territorial identification. The valuable experience of the National Liberation War has proved countless times that all programs based upon national exclusiveness or upon a so-called national program are destined to fail. It was the slogan (which was at the same time a plan of action) of brotherhood and unity among all the peoples and nationalities of the country, launched by the Yugoslav CP, that united the broad masses of the peoples of Yugoslavia in victorious struggle against the invaders and the traitors of the nation.

This is why calls to national exclusiveness are rightly considered as demands drawn from the manifestos of bourgeois parties, adapted to suit the political needs of the present day. Comrade Tito always stressed that the policy of brotherhood and unity and the equality of all the peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia is the guarantee of a united and independent Yugoslavia. To forget this fact and demand changes today based solely on the interests of one people or another or one region or another is a form of political shortsightedness that can only lead to destruction. What the genuine, long-term interests of a people are, who represents them, and whether they can be the genuine interests of a people and a proper basis for prosperity, togetherness, and equality if realizing them involves restricting the rights of another people, is a completely different question. It is normal that every society's path of development should involve greater or lesser detours and deflections. In the past, the LCY has overcome all its contradictions successfully by placing class interests at the foundation of its plan of action, and thus distinguishing between progressive and reactionary forces within a people. Through internal struggle, and through this polarization within a nationality, an intranational policy has been constructed by all the progressive forces of all the nationalities within the country.

For socialist, self-managing Yugoslavia, there can be no alternative program of national divisions, national polarization, national groupings, and solutions offered on this basis, in any form whatsoever, at any time. It would be a disaster if any part of the country were to come out in favor of the demands of the so-called national program, if this involved demanding the redefinition of republican and provincial borders according to the principle of national exclusiveness of the national majority in a given territory, or if nationalities were to be divided into the sovereign and the nonsovereign, and between those with an element of statehood and those without. The extent of the harmfulness and danger of such demands and manifestos was also clearly seen in the counterrevolutionary events of 1981 that were caused by the escalation of Albanian nationalism and irredentism.

The organizers and manipulators of the genuine problems of Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo, who encourage gatherings and national divisions, also base themselves upon the tactics and strategy of the so-called national program, constructed on the foundation of national division. This was especially shown by the trip of a group of Serbs and Montenegrins to Novi Sad to protest and exert pressure in Vojvodina for the acceptance of certain constitutional changes in the SR of Serbia. Here too lies the origin of the slogan, "Banat and Backa do not want a republic, Pecinci does," and the

question, "Why must Vojvodina be an autonomous province when the majority here are Serbs?" It is clear that these and other slogans that have been heard aim to sow division among the peoples and nationalities of Vojvodina, who have for decades pursued a policy of brotherhood and unity, reciprocal respect and trust, cultivating all their specific characteristics alongside everything they have in common.

The political game that is being played, with the support of some media which exploit their monopoly position with specific selection procedures that underestimate or exaggerate certain things, incidents, and definite processes, is not in the least naive.

The LCY will no doubt, on this occasion as on others, find the strength to combat all the negative political trends and incidents that have recently emerged, possibly as a product of the general crisis in society. It is very well-known that the LCY is the vanguard of the workers class and is a compound of all the most progressive elements of every people and nationality in the country.

Only with joint commitment to realize the LCY's principled policy, only on the road of socialist self-management which represents the well-being of the workers' class, can real solutions be sought and found for all issues, and thus for the constitutional changes, as for every change that leads us forward to the development and democratization of society on our familiar, inviolable principles and guidelines. It is only on this basis, not that of any kind of exclusiveness, that unity can be achieved.

Economic Committee on Inflation Rate, Prospects

LD2507193988 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 25 Jul 88

[Text] We are getting closer to 99 percent inflation. Over the last 3 months inflation reached three-fifths of the 99-percent rate envisaged for this year. Indications are that real inflation will greatly exceed this figure. Such a state of affairs—it was stressed today at a session of the Committee for Credit-Monetary System of the SFRY Assembly's Chamber of the Republics and Provinces—calls for more austere economic policy measures which, unfortunately, are late in being formulated. By the end of the year, prices should at best rise by only 3.8 percent per month to maintain inflation within required limits. As the July price increases far exceed this figure, the room for maneuevering has decreased further.

Bank Head Analyzes Situation

LD2507213988 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1713 GMT 25 Jul 88

[Text] Belgrade, July 25 (TANJUG)—The agreement with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) should make possible for Yugoslavia not only the consolidation of its foreign debts, but also financial support to its new economic reform, Governor of the National Bank of Yugoslavia (NBY) Dusan Vlatkovic said today.

In an interview to the Yugoslav news agency TANJUG, Vlatkovic said that the aim of the Yugoslav program of overcoming the crisis is to strengthen economic laws and the unified market, which are the main preconditions for lowering the high inflation and revitalizing the economy.

Late last month, the IMF approved a new stand-by credit to Yugoslavia, with a special right of drawing up to 410 million dollars. According to Vlatkovic, these means will be used in five equal tranches of 85 million dollars depending on the realization of the economic program on the basis of which the agreement with the IMF had been reached. The first tranche of the credit fell due on July 1.

Yugoslavia this month reached agreements with the Paris Club and commercial banks on the general rescheduling of half of its foreign debt standing at around 20 billion dollars. Yugoslavia also signed a contract with commercial banks on deposit and trade facilities securing 300 million dollars in new credits.

The Yugoslav program of overcoming the ten-year economic crisis was supplemented in May by the government's intervention measures. The measures are based on the liberalization of prices, imports, and the dinar's foreign currency rate, along with the cutting down of all types of spending.

Vlatkovic said that Yugoslavia was not abandoning the real interest of at least five percent on dinar savings, meaning that the interest rate, as a rule, has to be higher than the inflation rate. Inflation has reached an annual rate of 175.5 percent.

In addition to the measures aimed at stimulating dinar savings, Yugoslavia will also encourage foreign currency savings by offering credits and favorable conditions for the purchase of foreign currency.

Yugoslavia particularly stimulates foreign currency savings earmarked for the purchase of apartments, investments into production and emploment in order to stimulate the return of Yugoslavs who are temporarily employed abroad and make it possible for them to transfer their almost 20 billion dollars' foreign currency savings, to domestic from foreign banks, Vlatkovic said.

The governor of the NBY assessed that the further restrictions in the credit-monetary policy could lead to a paralysis of the country's economic streams. He urged the consistent implementation of all other economic measures aimed at cutting down inflation and stabilizing economy.

Federal Prosecutor on 'Unacceptable' Slovene Views

AU2507165588 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 10 Jul 88 p 10

[D. Ivanovic report: "Views of the Slovene Public Prosecutor's Office Unacceptable"]

[Text] "As in previous years, in 1987 the Federal Public Prosecutor's Office concentrated its activities on curbing political crime." This is one of the introductory statements in the report that this high legislative institution has drawn up on its work in the past year, and that has been sent to the SFRY Assembly.

The Prosecutor's Office believes that last year there was an "intensification in the activities of both external and internal enemies of our socialist self-managing system, and that they established links and coordinated their activities." The enemy is using the most perfidious means to break up the brotherhood, unity, and equality of the peoples and nationalities. The report also points to the fact that, in addition to organized illegal hostile activities from the position of Albanian nationalism and separatism, the enemy is increasingly using legal forms of organization: associations, scientific meetings, forum discussions, alternative movements, publishing houses, public media information, etc. The number of people reported for and charged with this type of crime is relatively negligible (0.3 percent of all crime in the country), but it must be said that the public prosecutor's offices "proceeded from their assessment of the importance and social danger of political crime."

A considerable part of the report is devoted to the fact that last year the Slovene Public Prosecutor's Office deviated in its views and conduct from the established policy of criminal prosecution (scrapping charges against the authors of some articles in NOVA REVIJA No 157). The Federal Public Prosecutor's Office believes, however, that this was a case of serious criminal acts whose social danger was obvious because an open call was made for activities against the most essentials values of society. Such serious forms of hostile propaganda "have been, without doubt, a subject of the same kind of criminal proceedings everywhere in the country."

The Slovene public prosecutor was also informed about these findings, but he remained adamant about his decision. The Slovene Public Prosecutor's Office explained its views by saying that democratization "demands that public prosecutor's offices be extremely strict in applying the law on political crime." This is why the "loose and vague" provisions of some articles of the SFRY Penal Code, such as Articles 114, 133, and 134, cannot be extensively applied. This kind of interpretation has caused more damage than good, and has created more of a hostile mood in society than we had before...."The normative formulation of these articles is 'imprecise and vague to the extent that criminal proceedings could either not be carried at all, or could not be carried against everybody.'" The report also points to the danger of violating some basic human and citizens' freedoms.

The Slovene Public Prosecutor's Office also disputed the Federal Public Office's assertion that the perfidious hostile activity is conducted through legal forms of organizing, such as various citizens' associations and so forth. It claims that some Slovene initiatives, such as the "Slovene syndrome," at one time had support throughout the country, that the youth relay race has been abolished, that attitudes toward alternative movements and strikes have changed, and that the abolition of the second part of Article 133, which refers to slandering the state, is "not only favored by new social movements and writers associations, and that such initiatives are not alien to the top SFRY organs...." Moreover, the report states that some critical issues refering to the Yugoslav People's Army were needlessly politicized and blown out of proportion. The report of the Slovene Public Prosecutor's Office also states: "The SR of Slovenia and the Slovene Assembly are consciously distancing themselves from repressive reactions, and rely on a dialogue within the mass emergence of the pluralism of different ideas."

However, the Federal Public Prosecutor's Office has found the above-mentioned views of the Slovene Public Prosecutor's Office unacceptable. In formulating a uniform policy for criminal proceedings against political crime, the Federal Public Prosecutor's Office proceeds from the need for "strengthening the law and for the consistent application of federal regulations. In other words, this means the obligation and duty of all public prosecutors in the country to apply in full and in the same way the provisions of the federal law, as long as these provisions are valid. Nobody, including public prosecutors, is allowed to suspend the application of any legal provision, nor to interpret it freely [voluntaristicki]. For this reason, one has always insisted on pursuing criminal proceedings only when all the legal conditions have been found to be satisfactory, which is to say by using neither too broad nor too narrow interpretations of legal provisions...."

The report recalls that the public prosecutor's offices in Slovenia should reexamine and change their decision not to criminally prosecute some NOVA REVIJA journalists, and in this way avoid forcing the public prosecutor to use his powers. These attempts did not produce results and the public prosecutor was forced to start criminal proceedings.

Croatian Judicial Officials Sworn In

LD2207120088 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1010 GMT 22 Jul 88

[Excerpt] Zagreb, 22 Jul (TANJUG)—Newly elected judicial officials were sworn in today before Andjelko Runjic, president of the Croat Assembly. Formally sworn in were Milko Gajski, new president of the Croat Supreme Court; Andjelko Busic, president of the Administrative Court of the SR of Croatia; and Bozidar Rumenjak, president of the Zagreb District Court. [passage omitted]

Safety Report on Krsko Power Station Submitted

AU2507172088 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 21 Jul 88 p 14

[TANJUG report: "Waste Still in Question"]

[Text] Zagreb, 20 Jul— All the results of expert appraisals show that the levels of radioactivity in the environment resulting from the work of the Krsko nuclear power station are considerably below those legally permitted. This was stated in the report of the Republican Committee for Energy, Industry, Mining, and Crafts on the effects of the Krsko nuclear power station on its surroundings last year. The report was accepted without much discussion at today's meeting of the Secretariat of the Section for the Protection and Improvement of the Human Environment and Land Management of the Croatian SAWP Republican Conference.

However, this does not mean that there were no sharp, critical, and controversial discussions about the work of Krsko. After a series of comments, the Secretariat rejected the reply of the Republican Committee for Energy, Industry, Mining, and Crafts to the section's question about the work of Krsko which was submitted in writing in February this year.

Members of the section observed that full answers had not been provided to some questions, and there were comments in particular about methods of waste disposal. In the interests of the public and of public safety, some questions will be repeated and some will be reformulated in order to fully inform the section about all aspects of the activity of the Krsko nuclear power station that relate to its influence on the environment.

There is no question that the water of the Sava is today somewhat more polluted than before the commission of the nuclear plant, but the question is to what extent this is due solely to the power station. Organic pollution may have occurred because of the Djuro Salaj paper mill, and it is unknown precisely how much this pollution may have led to a rise in water temperature.

The Krsko nuclear station produced 4,275 gigawatt-hours of electricity last year, which was 10 percent more than planned. Because of defects in the equipment, operation was suspended six times for a total of 173 hours. None of these breakdowns posed a threat to safety.

Loncar, Algerian Foreign Minister End Talks

LD2507221588 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1422 GMT 25 Jul 88

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, July 25 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar and Algerian Foreign Minister Ahmed Taleb Ibrahimi today wound up their exchange of views on the most pressing international problems.

They paid particular attention to the situation in the Arab-Persian Gulf arisen after Iran had accepted the UN Resolution 598. The two ministers also discussed the latest course of developments on the Iraqi-Iranian battlefield.

Loncar and Taleb Ibrahimi finished their dialogue that lasted several hours during their today's and previous meetings on promoting bilateral cooperation, on international questions, and the non-aligned countries' activities.

The Algerian minister is winding up his visit to Yugoslavia today.

Mikulic Meets With Ibrahimi

LD2507221988 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1516 GMT 25 Jul 88

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, July 25 (TANJUG)—Traditonal friendship, openness, mutual understanding, and successful bilateral cooperation in the Non-aligned Movement and the United Nations characterize Yugoslav-Algerian relations, Yugoslav Premier Branko Mikulic and Algerian Foreign Minister Ahmed Taleb Ibrahimi assessed in Belgrade today.

Economic cooperation does not satisfy the needs and possibilities of the two countries, the two leaders stated. They urged the promotion of economic cooperation, particularly the development of its superior forms.

Mikulic and Taleb Ibrahimi supported the efforts aimed at ending the Iran-Iraq war as soon as possible and expressed hope that the UN Security Council Resolution 598 would be implemented soon. The implementations of the resolution would be a significant step in attaining peace in the region.

Dizdarevic Telegrams Jaruzelski on National Day

AU2507170488 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 22 Jul 88 p 2

[Text] On the occasion of the national day of the PPR, Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, sent to Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, a telegram in the Presidency's name with cordial greetings and wishes for the prosperity of the friendly Polish people.

Suvar Sends Greetings

AU2507170588 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 22 Jul 88 p 2

[Text] Stipe Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, in the name of the Presidium and on his own behalf, has greeted Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, on the occasion of the national day of the PPR. His telegram expresses best wishes for the further comprehensive socialist development of Poland on the lines of the proclaimed economic and political reforms and according to the policy of socialist regeneration and national conciliation.

Freight Increases on Rail Link With Albania

AU2507170388 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 22 Jul 88 p 7

[Unattributed report: "More Freight on the Titograd-Bozaj-Albanian Border Railroad"]

[Text] During recent months, more and more freight has been carried on the railroad between Titograd, Bozaj, and the Albanian border. The freight has mainly consisted of fruit and vegetables exported by Albania to European countries. This is encouraging news, since only 168,932 tonnes of freight were carried by the line in 1987, or 3.34 percent of the planned volume. This was stated in a communique of the Yugoslav Railroad Authority.

The maintenance costs for this currently unprofitable line are borne by the railroad workers of Montenegro, who are in an exceptionally difficult economic situation, and who recently drew the attention of the responsible state authorities to the fact that traffic could be suspended on this line if the state did not perform the obligations it had undertaken this year. A section of the press erroneously interpreted this to mean that the railroad had been closed to traffic.

One of the reasons for the low volume of traffic on this line is that a considerable proportion of Albanian freight, about 57 percent, is carried by road, including even some goods destined for export via Yugoslav ports, to which they are brought by truck or ship.